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A STUDY OF THE SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS IN BUECHELER'S "CARMINA EPIGRAPHICA LATINA"

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF LATIN)

BY

JUDSON ALLEN TOLMAN, JR.

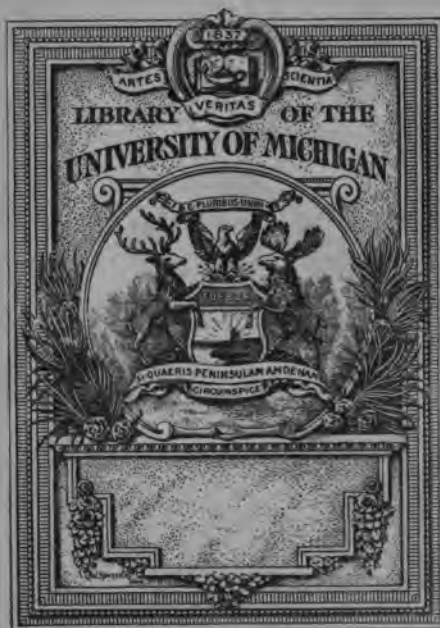
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**TO MY MOTHER
IN APPRECIATION OF
HER HELP AND ENCOURAGEMENT**

PREFACE

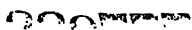
Franz Buecheler performed a great service to the student of Roman antiquities by his collection of metrical inscriptions in the two volumes entitled *Carmina Epigraphica Latina* (Leipzig, 1895 and 1897). In this collection the author has brought together from various sources a large amount of material which otherwise would not have been easily accessible.

This collection consists of 1,858 compositions. The majority of these are sepulchral inscriptions. The work also contains dedicatory inscriptions, Nos. 18 ff. and 248 ff., inscriptions from the walls of Pompeii, Nos. 32 to 49, 532 ff., and 941 ff., and a few *sortes* and *tabulae lusoriae*.

Professor Buecheler has arranged the inscriptions according to meter and has endeavored in some respect to bring together under the same metrical section those *carmina* which have a similarity of sentiment.

Shortly after the publication of this work several discussions followed upon different topics which were suggested by the study of the compositions. Those which have been of especial help and interest to the author of this paper are the following: Bruno Lier "Topica Carminum Sepulcralium Latinorum," *Philologus*, Vols. LXII and LXIII. In these articles the author has treated of many of the common-place expressions which are employed by the writers of the inscriptions. Professor Albert G. Harkness has discussed the religion of the common people as shown by these compositions in an article entitled "Roman Scepticism and Fatalism," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XXX, pp. 56-88. C. Weyman in *Blätter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen*, 1895, pp. 529-66, and C. Hosius in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1895, pp. 286-300, have treated of the influence of the Roman poets on the composers of the first volume of the *Carmina*. This discussion is supplemented by the list given by Professor Buecheler at the end of the second volume. Johannes Cholodniak in his work entitled *Carmina Sepulcralia Latina* has attempted to arrange the *carmina* under different heads as "Coniuges," "Parentes," "Liberi," "Servi," "Adloquia," etc. Cholodniak gives some valuable suggestions for text emendations, but does not appear to have classified the inscriptions with any particular regard for contents.

To the present time no comprehensive study of the *Carmina Sepulcralia* has been made. Such will be the object of this dissertation. We intend in the first chapter to make a survey of the general form, character, and content of the inscriptions as a whole, and in the second to discuss their



composition. The third, fourth, and fifth chapters will deal respectively with the religion, philosophy, and belief in immortality of the people as shown by the inscriptions.

In addition to the articles named above the author is also indebted in connection with the discussion of "Consolations" in chap. iv to the article by Carl Buresch "Consolationum Graecorum Romanorumque Historia Critica," *Leipziger Studien*, 1897, pp. 1 ff., and to the dissertation by Otto Schantz *De incerti Poetae Consolatione ad Liviam deque Carminum Consolatoriorum apud Graecos et Romanos Historia*, Marburg, 1889. The author also wishes to acknowledge his very great debt of gratitude to Professor G. L. Hendrickson, late of the University of Chicago, now of Yale University, who first directed his attention to this field of study and whose valuable suggestions and criticisms have made this dissertation possible. Thanks also are due to Professor F. J. Miller, of the University of Chicago, for his valuable suggestions on the chapter concerning the idea of immortality of the Romans.

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CHAPTER I

FORM AND CHARACTER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

As stated in the Introduction of this discussion Franz Buecheler in classifying the *Carmina Epigraphica* has given attention particularly to putting together those compositions which are of the same metrical form. Character and content have been a matter of secondary consideration. Consequently the purpose of this chapter will be to give a survey of the form and general characteristics of the sepulchral inscriptions.

As would naturally be expected we find compositions in the first, second, and third persons. In the first person the departed is represented as the speaker. He generally tells of his life, that he regrets he had to die, and closes with one or more of the common expressions found on the monuments, as that he hopes that the reader will be more fortunate, that he will pray that he rest in peace, or that the earth rest lightly. Although the majority of those of this form are of such character it is not unusual to find compositions in the first person which show considerable originality and sincerity of feeling.

The inscriptions in the second person are usually composed by one member of the family and addressed to the departed. They are marked by a greater genuineness of tone than those in the first person and show by the sincerity of feeling and great grief expressed that in the family life of the average Roman much affection was felt by one member of the family for the other. The compositions which are addressed by husbands to their wives are of particular interest, as they prove conclusively that not only during the early years of the Roman Republic, but even during the Empire, the wife of the average Roman was held in high esteem and affection in her own home and was greatly mourned at death.

It is not uncommon to find compositions in which the deceased addresses the surviving members of the family. Usually the genuineness of expression is as apparent as where the deceased is addressed. There is not as great grief shown, however, and the speaker attempts to console those left by telling them that they should not mourn his death as he has gone to a place where he is better off than when he was on earth. Sometimes the inscriptions are in the form of a dialogue. In one part the person who is left addresses the deceased and tells of the great sorrow that was caused by death, and in the second part the deceased replies and attempts to console the surviving relative or friend.

There are no striking characteristics belonging to the inscriptions which are in the third person. It might be said that they are from necessity perhaps more formal than those of the first and second persons, although many display great grief and sincerity of feeling.

Let us now turn to a study of the different classes of inscriptions and to the character of each.

I. COMPOSITIONS OF CONVENTIONAL FORM

To this class belong the inscriptions in which the writers followed a uniform method of expression. The common topics are found, which would naturally be expected in sepulchral compositions, such as the age of the deceased, the cause of his death, that he lies in the tomb, and his general characteristics.¹ The compositions of this class are marked by a straightforward method of expression. They are generally brief, being but a few lines in length, and are devoid of any attempt at poetical embellishment. For the most part expressions of great grief and sincerity are wanting.

INSCRIPTIONS IN WHICH THE DECEASED IS REPRESENTED AS SPEAKING

A number of the inscriptions of this class, as stated previously, are in the first person. As it would be a useless and extremely monotonous task to give all that belong to this group a few of the most typical examples will suffice to indicate their general characteristics.

- 73 Hospes resiste et quae sum in monumento lege
Verna Rufria hic sum sita. Iuenta Hilara
monumentum fecit matri et sibi et viro.
- 74 3 rogo te, viator, monumento huic nil male feceris.
C. Ateilius Serrani l. Euhodus margaritarius de sacra
via in hoc monumento conditus est.
viator vale.
- 86 Iulia Erotis femina optima hic sitast.
nullum dolorem ad inferos mecum tuli.
viro et patrono placui et decessi prior.
- 100 Domino dilectus, quoque iret semper comes.
poculi minister, doctus palaestrae puer.
eques sepultus hic sum natus annos et decem.

¹ The common-place topics which would naturally be expected in sepulchral inscriptions, such as age, in tomb, rest in peace, may the earth rest lightly, snatched by fate, parents should die first, taken in the flower of life, etc., are treated more fully in the second chapter of this dissertation in connection with the composition of the *Carmina Sepulcralia*.

Other inscriptions of similar character are Nos. 58, 72, 90, 93, 100, 101, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 162, 163, 239, 240, 241, 399, 418, 421, 428, 429, 457, 463, 466, 473, 475, 476, 477, 479, 485, 496, 502, 505, 506, 514, 524, 541, 563, 566, 597, 604, 641, 642, 646, 723, 724, 737, 814, 828, 892, 922, 963, 970, 971, 973, 977, 980, 987, 991, 992, 994, 996, 1001, 1005, 1011, 1012, 1015, 1024, 1026, 1035, 1036, 1042, 1044, 1054, 1058, 1068, 1085, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1100, 1105, 1117, 1132, 1145, 1146, 1149, 1156, 1161, 1163, 1180, 1181, 1195, 1206, 1209, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1224, 1236, 1238, 1249, 1258, 1266, 1269, 1274, 1277, 1290, 1296, 1302, 1306, 1310, 1318, 1319, 1354, 1358, 1487, 1513, 1523, 1537, 1538, 1563, 1566, 1568, 1572, 1576, 1579, 1582, 1587, 1603, 1613, 1622, 1792, 1793, 1797, 1820, 1828, and 1834.

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE SECOND PERSON IN WHICH THE DECEASED
IS ADDRESSED

The majority of inscriptions of this class, as stated previously, on account of the sincerity of tone are lifted above the common level. However, there are a number which are addressed to the deceased in which the writers do not appear to have been able to get away from the stock form of expression; e. g.,

- 451 *Servilia Irene reverens pia casta pudica
bis quinos denos et sex provecta per annos.
sit tibi terra levis, cineres quoque flore tegantur.*
- 456 *O quam dura tibi piguit, Fortuna fateri,
quae te tam teneris annis sub Tartara misit.
denos vix passa est annos te cernere lucem.
quod si longa magis duxissent fila sorores,
aequius iste lapis complecteret paterna.*
- 499 *Hoc tumulo, Pontiane, iaces, secure laborum,
cuius aput superos semper pia fama feretur.
nam tua simplicitas aevo memoranda meretur.*
- 529 *Hoc erat quod sperabas agri, Donate, post morte tuorum
hic te fata tua securum iacere voluerunt.*

Other inscriptions of the common-place character addressed to the deceased are 472, 529, 530, 575, 583, 592, 594, 614, 635, 636, 675, 776, 829, 830, 1002, 1020, 1027, 1046, 1050, 1064, 1069, 1104, 1260, 1270, 1293, 1323, 1328, 1329, 1349, 1351, 1357, 1360, 1367, 1373, 1396, 1406, 1415, 1436, 1460, 1461, 1536, 1555, 1558, 1569, 1570, 1585, 1600, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1796, 1800, 1809, 1821, 1831, and 1844.

COMPOSITIONS ADDRESSED TO SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE
FAMILY OR FRIENDS

There are about seventy-five of these among the *Carmina Sepulcralia* which are of a common-place character; e. g.,

- 81 O quanta pietas fuerat in hac adulescentia
fides amor sensus pudor et sanctitas.
Noli dolere, amica, eventum meum:
Properavit aetas, hoc dedit Fatus mihi.
- 115 Aream at sepulchra cultor verbi contulit
at cellam struxit suis cunctis sumptibus,
ecclesiae sanctae hanc reliquit memoriam.
saluete fratres puro corde et simplici:
Euelpius vos saluto sancto spiritu.
- 447 Bis binos vix dum compleverat annos
et nimium lato citius depulsus in antrost
nec licuit lumen fato superare parentes.
venit iniqua dies et acerbae terminis hora
ut titulum miseri lachrimis impleret acerbis.
vivite felices superi quorum fortuna beatat.
- 1053 Heic sita est Nimisis,
quae castum corpus ditulit ad cinerim
quam pater ac mater cupide servare studebant:
tertius ac decumus invidit lumina vesper.
dulcis vale mater peri dicit filia dulcis vale.
ave: et tu.

Also see 145, 640, 735, 802, 807, 823, 859, 912, 1041, 1051, 1068, 1078, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1167, 1181, 1205, 1206, 1211, 1216, 1223, 1244, 1249, 1256, 1290, 1334, 1341, 1358, 1407, 1511, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1566, 1567, 1586, 1594, 1600, 1606, 1793, and 1840.¹

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE THIRD PERSON

A great proportion of the inscriptions of a conventional form are in the third person. A few typical examples will be sufficient to enable one to determine their general characteristics; e. g.,

- 12 Heic est situs Queinctius Gaius Protymus
ameiceis summa cum laude probatus.
quoius ingenium declarat pietatis alumnus
Gaius Queinctius Valgus patronus.
- 152 Mater monumentum fecit maerens filio
ex quo nihil umquam doluit nisi cum is non fuit.
- 158 Dis Manibus sacrum, Liviae Honoratae
fidei simplici religiosae piaae
qualis nec fuit nec esse potest, monimentum
statuit maritus dono memoris gratia.
vixit a. LVII m. . . .

¹ A number of inscriptions belonging to this class have also been given in the list of those in the first person.

Also see 64, 110, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 178, 180, 207, 208, 210, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 234, 237, 246, 306, 308, 309, 317, 318, 361, 363, 364, 365, 368, 370, 376, 377, 378, 379, 397, 398, 402, 405, 410, 411, 413, 414, 415, 416, 419, 425, 435, 437, 512, *et al.*

COMPOSITIONS ADDRESSED TO TRAVELER, STRANGER, PASSER-BY, ETC.

It was a common stylistic device to address the inscription to someone as traveler, stranger, or reader. The person thus accosted is asked to stop and read. He is given some general advice regarding the shortness of life and the inevitability of death. The writer asks him to weep or, in some instances, to refrain from tears. Many times he is told to utter the common-place phrase, "May the earth rest lightly upon the one who lies here," and pass on. The majority of compositions of this type are common-place. We will now turn our attention to a more detailed study of those of this character.

1. *Hospes*.—A large number addressed to the stranger, *hospes*:

- 52 Hospes, quod deico paullum est, asta ac pellige.
- 53 Rogat ut resistas, hospes, te hic tacitus lapis,
dum ostendit quod manduit, quoius umbram tegit.
- 63 Hospes resiste ea tumulum hunc excelsum aspice,
quo continentur ossa parvae aetatulae.

Also see 54, 73, 74, 76, 117, 369, 429, 479, 502, 980, 981, 986, 1005, 1013, 1049, 1076, 1125, 1173, 1212, 1276, 1532, 1533, 1544, and 1829.

2. *Praeteriens* or *viator*.—

- 108 Vel nunc morando resta, qui perges iter,
etiam dolentis casus adversos lege,
Trebius Basileus coniunx quae scripsi dolens,
ut scire possis infra scripta pectoris.
- 112. 10 Valeas, viator, lector meis carminis.
- 401. 3 Quod si scire cupis tulerim quid triste, viator,
hoc est, in vita numquam quod noxia feci.
namquam pios tarde speravi visserere Parcas.

See also 77, 84, 96, 119, 120, 121, 122, 128, 133, 146, 213, 403, 413, 428, 433, 434, 437, 438, 443, 465, 466, 470, 474, 477, 500, 513, 528, 570, 580, 627, 960, 982, 995, 1012, 1021, 1055, 1056, 1067, 1083, 1084, 1098, 1111, 1122, 1123, 1125, 1136, 1145, 1152, 1171, 1184, 1191, 1193, 1196, 1209, 1214, 1218, 1226, 1234, 1263, 1279, 1280, 1287, 1305, 1309, 1319, 1327, 1330, 1418, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453-56, 1458, 1459, 1467, 1482, 1514, 1518, 1523, 1547, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1551, 1553, 1591, 1592, 1603, 1797.

3. Occasionally the method of address is more indefinite than in those given above. No specific person is called upon; e. g.,

- 55 Heus oculo errante quei aspicias leti domus,
morare gressum et titulum nostrum perlege.
98 Seu mortis miseret seu te vitae, perlige.
214 Alexandream quisquis noveras, quaeso,
lege pauca verba, paululum et dolens vade
aut nil doleto.
450 Tu ni scis quantis vitam deduxerit annis
a me non disces.

The following inscriptions also contain a similar form of address: 29, 64, 65, 71, 83, 109, 131, 132, 133, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 216, 219, 222, 241, 242, 243, 245, 273, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 315, 318, 321, 325, 333, 334, 367, 371, 373, 387, 389, 391, 426, 433, 437, 445, 454, 457, 473, 475, 476, 484, 485, 486, 489, 496, 511, 512, *et al.*

The person addressed is not only asked to stop and read, but, as we noted previously, he is requested to weep, to say, "Sit tibi terra levis," not to injure the tomb, or is advised that he is a man and must die. Note the following examples:

1. The one addressed asked to weep:

82. 8 Infunde lacrimas, quisquis es, mihi misericors.
astate cuncta ceciderunt mecum brevi.
aequo animo vive vitam quoad fieri potest.
109. 6 Te quaeso quisquis ibis, inlacrima mihi,
ut letus hilaris semper vitam transigas.
superetque potus vivo, fletus mortuo.
nomen si queris, iunge versum initia.
213. 6 Dole meator, quisquis hoc legis carmen,
et ut meretur anima, lacrimam accommoda.

See also 214, 387, 391, 403, 454, 466, 473, 555, 616, 649, 723, 965, 966, 973, 988, 1055, 1061, 1110, 1173, 1198, 1214, 1391, 1401, 1402, 1516, 1518, 1533, 1535, and 1813.

2. In contrast to the sentiment in the above the person addressed is asked to refrain from tears when reading:

443. 1 Quisquis ades celeri gressu, precor ito viator
ito procul et linque nefas, tibi dico, viator
parce oculis nec nostra velis cognoscere fata,
sanguinea palla quae textit prodiga Clotho
et faut rupisse suas quoque fila sorores
luctifica properante manu. iam siste viator,
ne tibi sim penitus quaerenti causa doloris.
1032. 1 Fatales, moneo, ne quis me luget, Orbi
namque secunda fui, nunc tegor e cinere.

1163. 5 Non igitur lector lachrimes? decepit utrosque
maxima mendacis fama mathematici.

1586. 7 Quam ne lacrimare, precor, et potius bene dicas Manibus oro.

The reader is asked to mix wine:

838. 1 Hospes, ad hunc tumulum ne meas ossa precantur
tecti hominis. set si gratus homo es, misce bibe da mihi.

3. The hope is often expressed that the fate of the reader will not be as unfortunate as that of him who lies buried:

63. 5 Queror fortunae cassum tam iniquom et gravem
nomen si quaeras, exoriat, Salviae.
valebis hospes, opto ut seis felicior.

64. 4 Hae et vale, quae optas, eveniant tibi et tuis.

127 Bene sit tibi qui legis et tibi qui praeteris.

129 Quod quisque vestrum mortuo optarit mihi,
id illi eveniat semper vivo et mortuo.

473. 11 Quisque legis, doleas, devites talia fata.

555. 8 Quicumque legis, nostros miserare dolores,
sic aput Elysias sedes per gaudia vivas.

Good wish to the reader is expressed as well in Inscriptions 62, 128, 130, 132, 134, 197, 215, 429, 470, 474, 475, 476, 489, 496, 835, 836, 859, 1067, 1091, 1101, 1111, 1122, 1125, 1136, 1178, 1196, 1224, 1227, 1330, 1459, 1462, 1465, 1467, 1468, 1497, 1533, and 1553.

4. Opportunity is often found to give the person addressed some advice, as life is short, or death is inevitable; e. g.,

57 Fructusque recte est rebus cum amiceis sueis,
sic tu tuis fac vivos utarus. vale.

62 Valebis, hospes, veive, tibi iam mors venit.

83 Bene vive, prospera, hoc est veniundum tibi.

This is peculiarly unique:

118 Hospes resiste et nisi molestust, perlege.
noli stomachare, suadeo, caldum bibas.
moriundust. vale.

Similar expressions found in Inscriptions 71, 77, 82, 84, 96, 119, 120, 191, 241, 242, 243, 245, 389, 391, 447, 465, 484, 485, 486, 500, 512, 580, 627, 700, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 808, 857, 859, 973, 983, 987, 1004, 1021, 1037, 1079, 1081, 1082, 1091, 1092, 1095, 1097, 1167, 1171, 1190, 1202, 1231, 1237, 1238, 1253, 1263, 1299, 1310, 1326, 1489, 1491, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1500, 1523, 1549, 1553, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1588.¹

¹ Many of the above inscriptions will be discussed further in chap. iv in connection with the philosophy of the Roman people as shown by consolations and expressions which indicate frivolity and pessimism.

5. The reader is asked to request that the earth rest lightly upon the body of the deceased, or that he rest in peace; e. g.,

- 133 Quisque praeteriens titulum scriptum legeris,
tactus pietate hoc precor ut dicas; Ianuaria sit tibi terra levis.
428. 13 Nunc tibi ne grave sit, felix quicumque viator
dicere, si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes,
Antoni et Proculi molliter ossa cubent.
429. 9 Tu qui legesti, ne sit grave dicere, quaeso,
Crispinae ut nullum terrae sit pondus gravatum.

Similar expressions are found in Inscriptions 474, 475, 476, 479, 970, 995, 1079, 1103, 1123, 1130, 1193, 1234, 1255, 1316, 1451-58, 1480, 1482, 1537, 1566, 1767.¹

6. The traveler is often requested not to injure the tomb:

- 74 Rogo te viator, monumento huic nil male feceris.
- 197 Rogo ne sepulcri umbras violare audeas.
- 198 Homo, non violes, non trasieris hunc locum.

In addition see 199, 215, 836, 857, 1006, 1027, 1101, 1145, 1178, 1196, 1224, 1243, 1287, 1418, 1466, 1468, 1532, 1575, and 1583.

II. COMPOSITIONS WHICH SHOW GENUINE GRIEF, SINCERITY, AND INDIVIDUALISM

We will now turn to a class of inscriptions which are a welcome relief from the monotony of those just considered. They consist of compositions in which the general tone is characterized by greater individuality and sincerity. Instead of the common-place are expressions of great grief and genuineness of feeling. The first, second, or third person is employed; although, as we have previously stated, the second person is the most common. An excellent example of those in the first person is one for a boy who died at the age of seven, No. 422:

Hoc ego sum tumulo Marcianus redditus aevo.
non dum Persephones sperebam visere regna.
consulibus tunc natus eram iteroque Severo
et Fulvo pariter, quo coepi dulcis haberi.
sextus ut excessit, coepi languescere in annum,
abstulit o saeva lux nona parentibus orta
placibus heu miserae matris patrisque simitu.
spes mihi quam magna fuerat, si me mea fata tulissent.
Musae mihi dederant puero facundus ut essem.
invidit Lachesis, Clotho, me saeva necavit,
tertia nec passa est pietate rependere matri.
quam pie, quam crebre venit sacra via tota
flevit et immensa turba funusque secuta.

¹ These will be treated more fully in chap. ii.

dixerunt ferele diem stationibus atris,
 quod tenerae aetati spes fallax abstulit annos.
 nec non omnigena passim vicinia venit,
 ut mecum florem fato moriente viderent.
 tu reddas, aeternae, piis solacia semper
 et vitam serves cunctis generisque piorum.

No. 420 which is for a young woman is of similar character. She informs the reader that when he learns of her grave fate he will certainly mourn, because the fates took her away and did not permit her to prolong her life one hour. Others of similar character are Nos. 68, 443, 496, 541, 563, 629, 756, 971, 973, 986, 990, 1055, 1078, 1080, 1116, 1122, 1140, 1144, 1170, 1185, 1196, 1198, 1205, 1211, 1212, 1225, 1263, 1296, 1306, 1432, 1502, 1544, and 1545.

COMPOSITIONS IN SECOND PERSON USUALLY BY HUSBAND TO WIFE

A very pretty inscription which is a good representative of those in the second person is No. 467. It is written by Hermes, an actor, to his wife, Cocceia.

Aeternam tibi sedem Hermes aramque dicavi
 Nice, optassem que utinam tua fata superstes
 ut mihi tu faceres, sed iniqua sorte maligna
 rapta iaces annis iam viduata tuis.
 ia tibi Cybeles sint et rosa grata Diones
 et flores grati Nymphis et lilia sarta.
 sitque, precor, meritis qui nostra parent tibi dona
 annua, et manes placida tibi nocte quiescant
 et semper in nido Marathonis cantet aedon.

Another of similar character is Inscription 654, written by a wife to her husband:

Inter avos proavosque tuos sanctumque parentem
 virtutum meritis et honoribus emicuisti
 ornamentum ingens generis magnique senatus,
 sed raptus propere liquisti, Sancte Kameni,
 aeternos fletus obiens iuuenalibus annis
 te dulcis coniunx lacrimis noctes diesque
 cum parvis deflet natis, solacia vitae
 amisisse dolens casto viduata cubili,
 quae tamen extremum munus, solacia luctus,
 omnibus obsequiis ornat decoratque sepulcrum.

Other inscriptions of this character are: Husbands to wives: 392, 439, 467, 516, 545, 546, 632, 633, 634, 652, 708, 1033, 1183, 1184, 1187, 1189, 1192, 1301, 1338, 1339, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1440, 1443, 1508, 1561, 1578, 1846, and 1849. Wives to husbands: 424, 542, 654, 702, and 1208. By parents to children: 400, 430, 469, 613, 731, 737, 755, 972, 1075, 1107, 1171, 1214, 1336, 1401, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1549, and 1823. By children to parents: 525, 707, 1045, 1262, 1410, 1438, and 1515.

COMPOSITIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSOLING THOSE LEFT

The majority of compositions where the form of the deceased speaking to those left behind is employed are of a consolatory nature. As the subject-matter of these will be considered in a subsequent part of this dissertation in connection with *consolationes* found in the *Carmina* a brief treatment will suffice at this point.

Inscription 59, in which a girl addresses her parents, affords a good example. See especially ll. 11 ff.:

Pater mei et genetrix germana, oro atque obsecro,
desinite luctu, questu lacrimas fundere,
sei in vita iucunda ac voluptatei fuei
vobeis, viro atque ameiceis noteisque omnibus,
nunc quoniam fatum ita se tolit, animo volo
aequo vos ferre concordisque vivere.

Compositions of a similar character to the one given above are 81, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 507, 562, 674, 807, 823, 963, 970, 971, 998, 1001, 1016, 1051, 1068, 1078, 1109, 1205, 1206, 1211, 1212, 1223, 1295, 1341, 1358, 1407, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1567, 1586, and 1834. The inconsistency shown in Inscription 956 is worthy of notice. In ll. 1 to 6 the departed wife, who is represented as speaking, desires someone to weep for her. In ll. 7 to 12 she consoles her husband by telling him that there is no need for tears as there is one home for all.

Frequently the deceased does not attempt to console those left but requests that they weep or take care of the tomb: e. g., No. 367:

Aspicite hanc speciem, iuenes, miserabilis hora,
quoi lucem eripuit caroque viro dedit luctum.
hic vobeis dignis una mecum dedit hoc monumentum.
haec a vobeis merito data nobis praemia laetor.
quod species nostras titulo dignas esse putastis.
nunc rogo, quod sequitur, semper nostri meminisse velitis
hoc quoque cura velit vestra laude tributum.
cum fatum tulerit. una eius mecum condere ossa loco.

Inscriptions 423, 431, 730, 965, 1080, 1244, 1249, 1256, 1290, 1334, and 1549 are of similar character.

COMPOSITIONS OF DOUBLE FORM

Many times in one composition the two forms are combined. In one part the deceased is addressed and in the second part the deceased replies. The tone of each part differs but little from those considered previously except that greater vividness is obtained by this method. One of the most typical of this class is No. 111. This is too long to give in full. In ll. 1-42 the wife addresses her deceased husband and praises his deeds while

on earth. The husband replies in ll. 42-58 and pays high tribute to his wife's character and devotion.

Another inscription of similar character, though of less elevated tone, is that for Stephanus, No. 92:

Ll. 1-7 the wife addresses her husband:

Have dulce nobeis nomen atque omen gerens,
Stephane, vitae nostrae dum vivis decus:
vere choronam te accēpi et mox perdidī.
Moschis tua te salutāt et Didorus tuus
et blanda dulcis pupa, delīcium tuum,
et quem tu tuis manibus nuper sustuleras puer.
o Fatum infelicem qui te nobis abstulit.

Ll. 8-12 Stephanus replies:

Have casta coniunx et mei serva memoriā,
have, mi Diodore, amice, frater et parens,
nam et amici officia et pietatem implesti patris,
have pupa blandis, amica mea, tuque have puer
quem nuper pararam ut haberem heredem nominis.

Other inscriptions of similar character are 59, 68, 102, 560, 959, 1086, 1139, 1289, 1305, and 1560.

There are but few inscriptions which as a whole express great sincerity of feeling found in the third person. No. 487 affords one of the best examples of this type:

Hic iam situs est quondam praestantiis ille
omnibus in terris fama vitaeque probatus.
hic fuit ad superos felix, quo non felicior alter
aut fuit aut vixit. simplex bonus atque beatus.
numquam tristis erat. laetus gaudebat ubique,
nec senibus similis mortem cupiebat obire,
set timuit mortem nec se mori posse putabat.
hunc coniunx posuit terrae et sua tristitia flevit
volnera, quae sit caro viduata marito.

Also see Inscription 454.

BRIEFER INSCRIPTIONS THAT SHOW GENUINE GRIEF

A number of compositions which show considerable sincerity of feeling are not of as elaborate a nature as those which we have been considering, but are characterized by more brevity and simplicity of tone. The writer does not attempt to tell of his great grief, but by one or two simple and unvarnished statements leads the reader thoroughly to understand the intensity of his sufferings; e. g.,

179 Bene adquiescas, Hilara, si quid sapiunt inferi,
si nostri memento, nos numquam obliviscemur tui.

- 204 Si pro virtute et animo fortunam habuissem
magnificum monumentum hic aedificassem tibi,
nunc quoniam omnes mortui idem sapimus, satis est.

Others written by the one left to the deceased similar to those given above are 151, 179, 216, 325, 362, 380, 393, 394, 402, 432, 453, 456, 489, 572, 592, 635, 653, 663, 680, 685, 738, 739, 749, 750, 1014, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1034, 1040, 1042, 1043, 1072, 1074, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1102, 1123, 1138, 1139, 1147, 1244, 1246, 1265, 1289, 1331, 1337, 1356, 1557, 1360, 1367, 1607, 1809, and 1821.

In not a few of this class the deceased addresses those left: e. g.,

- 88 Studium habui ut facerem viva mihi aeternam domum:
mors intercessit, iam mihi, coniunx optime,
tua bonitas fecit, titulis declarat meus,
quod fuerit studium me erga pietatis tibi.
- 431 Tu, pia tu mater cineres operire memento,
saepius in nati nomen clamato iacentis
verba meo cineri saltem gratissima dona.

Nos. 385, 389, 431, 491, 515, 561, 572, 576, 998, 1001, 1139, 1253, 1285, 1286, 1290, 1335, 1510, and 1511 resemble those given above in tone and form of expression.

ENCOMIASTIC FORM AND CHARACTER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Many writers of the *Carmina* appear to have been influenced by the writers of encomia. This is shown by their general form and laudatory character.

The Greek rhetorician Hermogenes (Spengel *R. G.* II, p. 12) has preserved the general topics to be observed in personal encomium. These are γένος, birth and family, τροφή, or rearing, ἀγωγή, education, φύσις τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, moral and physical characteristics, ἐπιτηδεύματα, pursuits or manner of life, and πράξεις, deeds. The best examples that remain which show the influence of these rules for personal encomium upon the Roman poets are Horace's satire addressed to Maecenas,¹ in which he gives the history of his life (*Hor. Serm.* i. 6) and the famous elegy of Propertius to Cornelia (Propertius *Elegies* iv. 11).

It is not to be expected that these metrical inscriptions could equal those products of the best poets of Rome, but there is a very apparent similarity in form and stylistic treatment which goes far to prove the existence of an encomiastic biographical literature and its influence upon both the poets and the authors of the inscriptions. It is also to be noted that the writers did not hold to any hard and fast rules. Very rarely are all the topics given

¹ Regarding the literary form of this satire see the discussion by G. L. Hendrickson *Am. Journal of Phil.* XXIII, 1902, pp. 388-99.

by the rhetoricians to be found in one composition. However, many of them contain two or more topics and resemble personal encomium in a marked similarity of tone.

Space will permit the study of only a few of the most typical of these. Inscription No. 29 affords a good example. This composition is for a ball-player. It contains two topics, deeds, *πράξεις*, and character, *φύσις τῆς ψυχῆς*.

Deeds, ll. 1-6:

Ursus togatus vitrea qui primus pila
lusi decenter cum meis lusoribus
laudante populo, maximis clamoribus
thermis Traiani, thermis Agrippae et Titi
multum et Neronis, si tamen mihi creditis
ego sum.

Character is given briefly in ll. 13 ff.:

Ursumque canite voce concordi senem
hilarem iocosum pilicrepem scholasticum,
qui vicit omnes antecessores suos
sensu, decore, adque arte suptilissima.

In Inscription 427 the deceased, who is represented as telling of his deeds, does not attempt to avoid the feeling of alienation caused by direct self-praise:

Ll. 1 ff. Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris,
inter mille viros primus fortisque Batavos
Adriano potui qui iudice vasta profundi
aequora Danuuii cunctis transnare sub armis,
emissumque arcu dum pendet in arce telum
ac redivit, ex alia fixi fregique sagitta,
quem neque Romanus potuit nec barbarus umquam
non iaculo miles, non arcu vincere Parthus,
hic situs hoc memori saxo mea facta sacravi.
videret anne aliquis post me mea gesta sequatur:
exemplo mihi sum, primus qui talia gessi.

Other compositions belonging to this class which are especially worthy of note are Nos. 55, 97, 111, 219, 437, 487, 511, 512, 513, 520, 552, 610, 1111, 1516, and 1530. Also Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9, inscriptions for the Scipios, are particularly interesting on account of the number of topics contained. The writers of the Christian inscriptions were especially fond of the encomiastic style and form. Note particularly Inscriptions 312, 686, 698, 699, 700, 704, 712, 721, 787, 795, 796, 797, 1335, 1347, 1350, 1365, 1368, 1375, 1382, 1385, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1409, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, and 1516.¹

¹ It is but natural to expect that a large proportion of sepulchral inscriptions would contain one or two topics, as the character or deeds of the deceased. Consequently there is no need to enter into a discussion of the compositions in which such topics are found with a frequency which puts them almost in the class of common-places.

COMPOSITIONS WHICH GIVE EVIDENCE OF PARTICULAR
POETICAL ABILITY

Every metrical inscription, no matter how poor it may be, naturally manifests some poetical ingenuity on the part of the writer. A number demonstrate the fact that not a few of the authors possessed considerable talent in this direction. The composers very likely took their models from the popular Roman poets and exerting whatever faculty they themselves possessed obtained for a result a product of considerable merit. Inscription 492 affords a good example. This is in the form of a prayer to Proserpine. Ll. 1-15 and 20-25 are of particular interest, which we will quote.

- 1-15 Floribus ut saltem requiescent membra iucundis
Aeliae carae mihi nunc hoc inclusae sepulcro,
Regina Ditis magni, precor hoc te
nam meruit haec multa suis pro laudibus a me—
inmeritae propre solventem fila dearum.
quae globo Parcarum revoluta cuncta gubernant.
qualis enim fuerat vita, quam deinde pudica,
si possem effari, cithara suadere ego Manes
haec primum casta, quot te audire libenter
et mundi spatia, Ditis quoque regia norunt,
hanc precor Elysiis iubeas consistere campis
et myrta redimere comas et tempora flore.
- 20-25 Carmini, possessor, faveas precor, ac ut tu
hanc tituli sedem velles decorare quodannis
et foveas aevi monumentum tempore grato
roscida si roscula seu grato flore amaranthi
et multis generum pomis variisque novisque
ut possit toto refoveri temporis anno.

Inscription 1109 in which the boy is represented as appearing to his father and comforting him with the information that there is no need to weep as the departed will be transformed into a deity is typical of this class.¹ Another good example is Inscription 1233. This is especially worthy of consideration on account of its conspicuous poetical phraseology.

Si dolor infractum potuit convellere pectus
Herculium, cur me flere tamen pigeat?
nam velut Aeacide laudavit corpus Achilli
clarus Homerus, item non tua laus similis.
te sortita Paphon pulchro minus ore notabat
diva, set in toto corde plicata inerat.
sobria quippe tuo pollebat pectore virtus,
non aetate minor nec minor inde loco.
hec mihi per validos rapto te morte dolores
quamvis aequanimo dat, puer, ut lacrimem.

¹ On account of the length of this composition and owing to the fact that it will be discussed in chap. iv, p. 93, in connection with the consolation of immortality it will be unnecessary to reproduce it here.

tu placidus, dum nos cruciamur volnere victi,
 et reparatus item vivis in Elysiis.
 sic placitum est divis aeterna vivere forma
 qui bene de supero numine sit meritus:
 quae tibi castifico promisit munera cursu
 olim iussa deo simplicitas facilis.
 nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystidis ad se
 florigero in prato congregi in Satyrum
 sive canistriferae poscunt sibi Naides aequae
 qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas.
 sis quodcumque, puer, quo te tua protulit aetas.

Though it would be interesting to give all the compositions which belong to this group, it is impossible on account of their length. Those of particular interest are Nos. 111, 787, 1141, 1142, 1233, 1237, 1336, 1533, and 1550. Perhaps the most remarkable of all of these is No. 1552. This is an elaborate production of one hundred and ten lines which abounds in figurative expressions and mythological allusions.

There are a number of compositions in which the poetical element is not as evident as in the foregoing examples. These, however, exhibit no little poetical talent and are worthy of mention. See Nos. 98, 99, 219, 439, 471, 544, 569, 669, 995, 1110, 1111, 1202, 1326, 1339, 1347, 1431, and 1549.

POETICAL ELEMENTS IN THE COMPOSITIONS

There are many inscriptions which if counted as an entire composition would not be classed with those that show especial poetical ability. However, they contain similes, metaphors, or other figurative expressions which are particularly characteristic of poetry and show that a considerable effort was often made to attain a poetical mode of speech. Let us note a few of these.

Commonly the short period of life of the deceased is compared to the short existence of a rose.

967 Ut rosa amoena homini est quom primo tempore floret.
 Quei me viderunt, seic ego amoena fui.

1040 Ac veluti formosa rosast cum tempore prodiit
 arescit certo tempore deinde suo,
 sic tu coepisti primo formossa, Anna, videri,
 tempore sed subito desinis esse mea.

Similar figures are found in Inscriptions 216, 599, 601, 1489, and 1607. In 639 the figure of a flower is used and in 1039 that of a butterfly. Frequently metaphors are employed; e. g.,

526. 9 Deperit et perdit orbatque patrem baculo destituta senecta.
 1171. 7 Non quoniam indigne tulimus crudelia fata
 cum multi ex undis rapti scopulisque supersint.

Also see Inscriptions 98, 107, 310, 798, and 1166.¹

Many references to nature of a pleasing character are to be found. See 439:

Ver tibi contribuat sua munera florea grata
et tibi grata comes nutet aestiva voluptas
reddat et autumnus Bacchi tibi munera semper
ac leve hiberni tempus tellure dicetur.

References to flowers are found in the following: 469, 492, 525, 571, 578, 599, 709, 748, 796, 852, 856, 1111, 1135, 1184, 1185, 1244, 1256, 1262, 1279, 1313, 1334, 1336, 1388, 1433, 1443, 1508, and 1550.

A few figures used in connection with death are of interest. In Inscription 420 it is compared with a serpent, in 447 with a cave, in 1210 it is spoken of as shipwrecking death, and in 1537 it is called a raft.

Repeatedly personification is resorted to. This is particularly seen in personifying the characteristics of the departed. See

213 Quod interisset forma, flos pudor simplex.
586 Hic iacet ambigua pietas dolor et pudor in se
nomine Sofrinus.

For other examples see Inscriptions 492, 511, 586, 671, 686, 1057, 1107, 1142, 1365, 1378, 1408, 1413, 1429, and 1555.

Abstract qualities like envy are sometimes personified. See 1298:

Invide, quid gaudeas? illa hic mihi mortua vivet.

See also 1299. Grief is personified in Inscriptions 556, 565, and 989.

There are many references to the gods and the condition after death which are very probably for poetical effect. These will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

COMPOSITIONS OF UNIQUE CHARACTER

Many of the sepulchral inscriptions are interesting on account of their unique character. It seems that the writers desired their productions to display a certain striking individuality and thus stand out from the commonplace with considerable prominence;² e. g.,

¹ Many of these figurative expressions, such as taken in the flower of life, not permitted to see the light longer, the comparison of the affairs of men with apples hanging on a tree, and the personification of death as the power which snatches all away, will be discussed in the following chapter in connection with the common-place topics which are used in the composition of the inscriptions.

² It would be interesting to give in full a number of compositions of this character, but as we have already drawn this chapter out to considerable length a numeration of those belonging to this class with the examples given must suffice. See Nos. 436, 441, 450, 480, 484, 523, 600, 607, 681, 1036, 1037, 1113, 1178, 1184, 1300, 1318, 1533 and 1551. No. 492, which is a prayer to Proserpine, No. 1550, to the Stygian ruler, and No. 1562, a prayer to God, are of particular interest.

- 468 Saepe meis tumulis avis Attica paruula venit
et satiata thymo stillantia mella relinquit.
mi volucres hic dulce canent viridantibus antris
hic viridat tumulis laurus prope Delia nostris
et auro similes pendunt in vitibus uvae.
- 562 Mater nomen eram mater non lege futura.
quinque etenim solos annos vixisse fatebor
et menses septem diebus cum vinti duobus.
dum vixi lusi, sum cunctis, semper amata.
nam pueri voltum, non femine, crede, gerebam
quam soli norant Agathen qui me genuerunt.
rufa coma, tonso capite postrema remisso.

Here the stone is represented as speaking:

- 1518 Sum castae cinerum lapis puellae
custos. me relegens pius viator,
huius cognita si tibi fuisset
virtus, lacrimulis tuis rigares.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ACROSTIC FORM

One more class of inscriptions of interest remains. This consists of the compositions in which the writer so used his skill in arranging the words and lines that the first letters in a line, or in some cases the last letters, taken in succession spelled the name of the one for whom the inscription was written. This is particularly a characteristic of Christian inscriptions; e. g.,

- 109 Romulea prole Tarpeiaque arce editus
exigui cultor ruris omni tempore
summa vixi fide, nulli feci iniuriam,
Tutela adlectus Aelium colui patrem,
Ut essem dignus in tumulto hoc una tegi.
Te queso quisquis ibis, inlacrima mihi,
Ut letus hilaris semper vitam transigas
Superetque potus vivo, fletus mortuo.
nomen si queris, iunge versum exordia.

Others of similar form are Nos. 108, 273, 511, 570, 571, 676, 745, 748, 797, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 525, 661, 712, 725, 745, 747, 795, 796, 1557, 1616, 1829, 1830, 1833, and 1838. In 726 and 727 the names are spelled by joining the first and last letters of the lines.

CHAPTER II .

THE COMMON-PLACE TOPICS AND EXPRESSIONS FOUND IN THE INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR COMPOSITION FROM THESE

We discussed in the previous chapter the effort made at original poetical expressions by many of the writers. There are two other elements which enter into the composition of the inscriptions to a large extent. These are the quotations from the popular Roman poets of the time and certain common-place statements which appear to have been at the disposal of all.

C. Weyman in *Blaetter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen*, 1895, pp. 529-66, and C. Hosius in *Rheinisches Museum*, pp. 286-300, have very adequately discussed the quotations from the poets found in the first volume of the *Carmina Epigr.* This has been supplemented by the list of quotations for both volumes which Professor Buecheler gives at the end of the second volume. Bruno Lier has taken up the question of the origin of common-place topics in a series of articles in Vols. LXII and LXIII of the *Philologus*, entitled "Topica Carminum Sepulcralium." He has given particular attention to their sources and proves that the majority of these common-places did not originate with the Roman writers themselves, but that they were much-used expressions occurring frequently in the literature of the Greeks and often employed by them in the composition of epitaphs.

Consequently in this chapter we shall give but little attention to the origin of either the common-place expressions or the quotations from the poets. Our consideration shall be mainly directed to the common-places themselves as they are employed by the authors of the inscriptions; first, where they used the bare unvarnished statement with little attempt to vary it or avoid the monotony, and then, the more pleasing attempts where the idea of the common-place is not lost sight of but the form is changed and embellished until the triteness is not apparent. Then we shall show the manner in which a large number of compositions were formed by using several of these with occasionally the aid of a poetical quotation or so, or an original sentiment of the author.

I. THE COMMON-PLACES PER SE

These consist of numerous much-used statements which we would ordinarily expect to find in sepulchral inscriptions. Those met with most frequently are the following: the age of the deceased, that his bones are in

the tomb, that he lies here, that he rests in peace, expressions of regret because he was taken prematurely, an account of the life he lived, that he has been rewarded either by the sepulcher or by immortal life, that a son should do for a parent what a parent has been compelled to do for a son, and particulars concerning the making and care of the monument. Besides these, others of more figurative character are found, as the deceased was taken on the threshold of life, that he was snatched away by the fates or envious death, that it became necessary for him to leave the light, and the desire that the earth rest lightly upon the one buried. Let us now turn to a study of these in detail.

AGE

The age of the deceased would necessarily be found in sepulchral inscriptions. In the *Carmina* this is expressed most commonly by a simple enumeration of the length of time lived, a considerable number of times in a more poetical form by the use of the adverbs *bis* and *ter*—compare the much-used expression in English, three score years and ten—and occasionally by extremely poetical and figurative language.

a) *Simple enumeration*.—This method is used in over 150 compositions with very little variation. A few examples will suffice.

101 L. Marius L. f. Vitalis vixi ann. XVII, d. LV. consummatus litteris.

216. 5 Semissem anni vixit et dies octo.

496. 2 Quae annos aetatis agens sex et dece mensibus octo.

Also see Nos. 108, 141, 172, 385, 454, 455, and 1084.

b) *Use of bis and ter*.—An apparent endeavor to approach nearer poetical terminology. Cf. Martial ix. 76. 3:

Creverat hic vultus bis denis fortior annis.

Silius It. *Pun.* x. 493:

Bis Coelia senos
nondum compleverat primaevi annos.

Nearly one hundred compositions contain this method of enumeration. Although it approaches nearer poetical expression, the frequency of use and the lack of variety cause it to become monotonous; e. g.,

59. 4 Vix quom esset bis decem anneis nata indigniter.

588. 3 Ter senis misero et quattuor paene peractis
annis acerva fuit.

666. 3 Complens ter denos quae vitam vixerit annos.

Also see 104, 377, 378, 403, 429, 447, 451, 459, 463, 564, 575, 1035, and 1048.

c) *Poetical and figurative language*.—These expressions show a desire for originality. Considerable ability is often displayed; e. g.,

719. 2 Expleto annorum circulo quinto.
 1066. 3 Quattuor huic cursus Phoebeos negarunt.
 1199. 3 (Namque duas nam plus) vixit Olimpiadas.¹
 1220. 2 Bimulus in tertium escendens.
 1341. 2 Triginta et duo circiter celeri cursu perfecti meo.
 1355. 4 Vix hiemes licuit cui geminasse novem.
 1388. 13 Ter denos primum quam luna resumeret ignes.²
 1515. 1 Post septuagesimo numero tempus
 postque totidem transactos autumnos
 tres nati tibi iam figimus probo parenti
 quod gratum tumultum videtur esse.
 1535. 1 Complentem menses sextae per cornua lunae.
 1248. 3 Vix consumavit septem quinquennia lustris.

Also see 409. 3, 419, 1232. 1, 1365, 1366, 1389, 1422, 1436, and 1476.

Sometimes age is personified and represented as taking away the deceased; e. g.,

445. 5 Hanc annus X privavit munere lucis.
 682. 5 Nam cui prima dies in lucem protulit annus,
 quattuor.

Also 1137. 1, 1404. 13, and 1560. 5B.

Twice the writers, in efforts to be especially unique, refuse to tell the age.

450. 1 Tu ni scias quantis vitam deduxerit annis
 a me non disces.
 1331. 1 Nomen non dico nec quod vixerit annis
 ne dolor in mentem cum legimus maneat.

BONES OR ASHES IN THE TOMB

This expression is found in nearly as many inscriptions as the preceding. The phrases most commonly employed are *ossa quiescere*, *requiescere*, *recubere*, and *contineri*.

a) *Ossa quiescere*.—Cf. Ovid *Fast.* 301:

Nec tua, quam Pyrrhi, felicius ossa quiescant,
 sparsa quae iacere vias.

Silius It. *Punica* xiii. 875:

"Ne metue," exclamat vates, "non vita sequetur
 inviolata virum: patria non ossa quiescant."

Verg. *Aen.* vi. 528:

Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.

Cf. Mart. vii. xi. 5: "Hic prope ter senas vixit Olimpiadas."

¹ Cf. Ovid *Fast.* ii. 447: "Luna resumbat decumo nova cornua motu."

See the following from Buecheler:

180. 3 Ut ossa eius quae hic sita sunt bene quiescant.
 479. 9 Sit tibi terra levis et molliter ossa quiescant.
 501. 1 Hisce locis requiescunt ossa sepulta.

Also see 90.3, 550, 773, 793, 1095, 1099, 1189, 1191, 1242, 1279, 1583, 1609, 1613, and 1817.

b) *Ossa cubere or recubere*.—Cf. Ovid *Her.* vii. 162:

Et senis Anchisae molliter ossa cubant.

Ovid *Am.* i. 8. 108:

Saepe mihi disces vivae bene, saepe rogabis
 ut meae defunctae molliter ossa cubent.

- Cf. Ins. 76 Hic sum sepultus, hic ossa in terra cubent.
 428 Antoni et Proculi molliter ossa cubant.
 1022 Ossaque delectae coniugis hic recubant.
 1027 His foribus carae recubant mihi coniugis ossa.
 1458 Molliter ossa cubent, dicat, rogo quisque viator.

c) *Iacere* is frequently used in place of *cubere*. Cf. Inscriptions

- 980 Immatura iacent ossa relata mea.
 1245 Hic nunc sub tumulo pulvis et ossa iacent.
 1324 Hic cineres atq. ossa iacent.
 1511. 5 In terra cinis hic iacet sepultus.

d) *Ossa continere*.—

- Ins. 74. 2 Ubei continentur ossa hominis boni misericordis amantis pauperis.
 63. 2 Quo continentur ossa parvae aetatae.
 798 Ista vorax fossa Dominici continet ossa.

In addition to the foregoing the following expressions are commonly found: *ossa hic sita sunt*, *ossa hic sunt*, *condidit ossa*, *tumulum ossa tegit*, *lapis ossa tegit*, *ossa sepulta sunt*, and *ossa sepulta latent*. Let us briefly consider a few examples of each.

e) *Ossa hic sita sunt*, *ossa sunt hic*, etc.—See

- Ins. 53. 4 Praeconis Oli Grani sunt ossa heic sita.
 91. 10 Eius ossa nunc hic sita sunt posita a centuris.
 138 In hoc sepulcro sunt ossa.
 615 Postquam sarcophago matris sunt ossa recepta.

Also see 375, 1045, 1157, 1209.

- 1045 Hic ossa . . . sita sunt.

f) *Condere ossa*.—

- 367 Cum fatum tulerit, una eius mecum condere ossa loco.
 964 Anthi causa meae vitae, quae cara sepulcro
 condidit ossa suo.

Inscriptions 1033, 1060, 1201, 1252, 1296, and 1535 contain this common-place as well.

g) *Ossa sepulta*.—

1085 *Dorchadis inveniet ossa sepulta loco.*

1086 *Nardinis invenies ossa sepulta loco.*

h) *Tumulus ossa tegit*.—This expression appears to be an attempt to approach poetical language. See Ovid *Am.* ii. vi. 59:

Ossa tegit tumulus, tumulus pro corpore magnus.

Ovid *Ex Ponto* i. ii. 58:

Ne mea Sarmaticum contegat ossa solum.

Ovid *Her.* iii. 103:

Per tamen ossa viri subito male tecta sepulcro.

Propertius i. 22. 8:

Tu nullo miseri contegis ossa solo.

Cf. Buech. 415:

Magna hominis hic ossa tegit saxsus.

678. 5 *Eu tegit ossa sepulcrum.*

1003. 2 *Concidit et lapide hoc ossa tegenda dedit.*

Also see 1001, 1017, 1021, 1075, 1120, 1126, 1142, 1151, and 1310.

More figurative and poetical language is often employed. The common-place topic is turned and amplified according to the ingenuity of the writer. Cf.

67. 5 *Ossa dedi Terrae, corpus Volchano dedi.*

89. 4 *Amica Tellus ut det hospitium ossibus.*

1029. 5 *Nunc vos contestor, Manes, quibus ossa relinquo.*

474. 10 *Terra nunc dividit ista
ossua sub titulo potius.*

989. 3 *In lacrimas dedit ossa novas.*

1016. 1 *Fumantes iterum cineres quid respicis, hospes?*

1129. 2 *Quae genuit tellus, ossa tegit tumulo.*

Also 1135, 1136. 1, 1144. 3, 1168. 10, and 1171. 1.

The following are especially unique:

1313. 2 *Cui precor ut cineres sint ia sintque rosae.*

1592. 8 *Et recolet Manes et vinciet ossa coronis.*

1518. 1 *Sum castae cinerum lapis puellae
custos.*

1545. 4 *Et mater lacrumis perluit ossa mea.*

In Inscription 965 unusual poetical ability is displayed in handling this common-place.

Quandocumque levis tellus mea conteget ossa
 incisum et duro nomen erit lapide.
 Quod si forte tibi fuerit fatorum cura meorum
 ne grave sit tumulum visere saepe meum.
 et quicumque tuis umor labetur ocellis,
 protinus inde meos defluat in cineres.

Some inscriptions show a desire to avoid the common-place topic. They state that the bones of the departed are not in the tomb.

609 Non clausa in tumulo requiescunt ossa sepulcro.
 istius nunc iuenis.

i) *Hic iacet, hic situs, hic est, hic sum, hic sepultus, and hic conditus.*—
 It is not worth while to consider at any length these much-worn expressions. The popular poets as well as the metrical inscriptions furnish numerous examples. See Ovid *Tr.* iii. 1. 73:

Hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum.

Tibull. i. 3. 55:

Hic iacet immiti consumptus morte Tibullus
 Mesallam terra dum sequiturque mari.

Mart. vi. 52. 1:

Hic iacet in tumulo raptus puerilibus annis.

Ovid *Met.* ii. 326:

Corpora dant tumulo, signant quoque carmina saxum.

Lucan *Pharsalia* viii. 793:

Hic situs est Magnus.

Pliny *Ep.* vi. x. 4: Hic situs est Rufus pulso qui vindice quondam imperium
 asserit non sibi sed patriae.

The phrases *hic situs est* and *hic positus est* are used over one hundred times in the metrical compositions with very little variation. A few examples will suffice.

12 Heic est situs Queinctius Gaius Protymus.

667. 1 Integer adque pius vita et corpore purus
 aeterno hic positus vivit Concordia aevo.

See 73. 2, 86. 1, 1061. 11, and 1581. 1.

Phrases in which some form of *iacere* is employed are found over seventy times; e. g.,

397 Rapta sinu matris iacet hic miserabilis infas.

399 Florus ego hic iaceo quondam bigarius infas.

425 Hic iacet Helpidius fatis extinctus iniquis.

The terms *hic est*, *hic sum*, *hic sepultus*, and *hic conditus* are frequently used; e. g.,

- 604 Hic ego sum Cornutus doliens cum filiis dulcissimis.
63. 3 Sepulta heic sita sum.
1018 Conditus in pensa iacet hic.

Also 64. 1, 995. 4, and 1554. 4.

There are fewer attempts at variation from a stereotyped form of expression here than elsewhere. However, a few inscriptions give evidence of some efforts at individuality; e. g.,

- 529 Hic te fata tua securum iacere voluerunt.
738. 2 Ergo hoc solum discis hic iacere puellam.
790. 1 Hic magnis meritor micans, hic prima iuventus.
1323. 2 Nunc quis ubi iaceas indicat iste lapis.

A few examples of attempts to avoid the conventional form by means of figurative expressions, as personification, are to be found; e. g.,

- 586 Hic iacet ambigua pietas dolor et pudor in se
 nomine Sofrinus.
1307 Dulce istic nomen Glypte iacet.
1346 Hic funus crudele situm.

j) *In tumulo, in lapide, and in marmore*.—These phrases, which of themselves are of very little interest, occur over one hundred times in the metrical inscriptions with very little variety. The general idea is that the deceased is shut away in the tomb which is a dark and gloomy place and deprived of all the pleasures in which he took delight when alive;¹ e. g.,

473. 5 Ac tumulo clausere gravi.
477. 3 Est mihi terra levis merito sed quiesco marmore clusus.
516. 7 Luce privata misera quiescit in marmore clusa.

Also see 422, 424, 478, 489. 1, 565, 603, 637, and 778.

However, there are not a few interesting instances where the writers apparently made an effort to avoid the triteness of the common-place expression. The phrases *in tumulo*, *in lapide*, and *in marmore* are replaced by more unique terms.

- 488 Hic in flore cubat longum securus in aeuom.²
721 Haec cava saxa Oppiliani continet membra.
1385 In tumulo dura mors iaces.
1271 Hic tumulus parvus nil habet invidiae.
1294 O lapis hic felix et littera muta sepulcri
 Iucundam aeterno tempore quod retinet.

¹ These phrases will be discussed in chap. v in connection with the conception of the deceased as existing in the tomb.

² Horace *Ep.* i. 3. 8; *Serm.* i. 5. 101; and Lucret. vi. 57.

Also see 1172, 1257, and 1375.

In no place is there greater extravagance of expression than in Inscription 1184. Here the husband states that he plants a flower which is to grow out of the grave and represent the body of his wife. See ll. 12 ff.:

O mihi si superi vellent praestare roganti
Ut tuo de tumulo flos ego cernam nouum
crescere vel viridi ramo vel flore amaranti
vel roseo vel purpureo violaeque nitore.
ut qui praeteriens gressu tardante viator
videret hos flores. tumulum legat et sibi dicat,
"hoc flos est corpus Flaviae Nicopolis."

One writer avoids the common-place in a remarkably pretty manner.

453 Non gravis hic textit tumulus te Punica virgo,
Musarum amor et Charitum, Erisiana, voluptas.

k) *Rest in peace*.—An almost universal sentiment concerning the condition of the departed is that he is at rest from the cares of this life. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 249:

Nunc placida compositus pace requiescit.

ix. 445:

Placidaeque ibi demum morte quievit.

vi. 370:

Da dextram misero, et tecum me tolle per undas
sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.

Tibull. ii. iv. 49:

Et, "bene," discedens dicet, "placideque quiescas,
terraque segura sit super ossa levis."

Lucret. iv. 761:

Hoc ideo fieri cogit natura, quod omnes
corporis effecti sensus per membra quiescunt.

Lucan *Pharsalia* v. 35:

Ignaros scelerum longaue in pace quietos
bellorum primus sparsit furor.

The phrases most commonly employed in the metrical inscriptions are *hic quiescit*, *bene quiescat*, *hic quiescit in pace*, *hic quiesco*, *hic in pace quiescas*, *in pace bona*, and *bene adquiescas*. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate the use of these expressions.

98. 4 Hic conquiescit cunis terrae mollibus.

110. 5 Ei conscius aeter, hic est, bene quiescat.

179. 1 Bene adquiescas, Hilara, si quid sapiunt inferi.

541. 12 Hic ego sepultus iaceo placidusque quiesco.

This is common in Christian inscriptions. See

690. 1 Presbyter hic positus Felix in pace quiescit.
717. 3 Obdormivit in pace Iesu.

Expressions similar to those given above occur more than seventy times among the metrical inscriptions.

There are a number of instances where the writers attempted to avoid the well-worn phrases which are worthy of notice.

761. 12 Invidia infelix, tandem compressa quiescit.
770. 5 Set summi rector Olympi
praestabet requiem membris.
1273. 8 Unus amor iunxit, nunc premit una quies.
1551C. 5 Nunc aeterna quies Ditisque silentia maesti
hanc statuere ambis pro pietate domum.

Also see 492, 1276, 1340, 1446, 1580, and 1617.

A number of compositions contain the thought that the deceased instead of being at rest in the tomb is at rest in heaven or in the stars. With but two exceptions, Nos. 544 and 1407, this idea is confined to Christian inscriptions.

- 544B. 1 Ac tribus est data nunc requies et in aethere sedes
cuncta super caeli.
1407. 4 Quem inter astra tenet alma quies.
684. 10 Interea in gremio Abraham cum pace quiescit.
919. 1 Aula micat, ubi corpus beati sancti Antochi quiebit
in gloria.

Also see 779. 9, 1347B. 18, 1438, and 1619.

This sentiment that there is rest in the grave is often used as a solace of death. Those who are left are at last consoled with the thought that the departed are finally secure from the evils of life. As this has been further developed in chap. iv in connection with consolations for death a few of the most typical examples will be sufficient at this point.

375. 2 Multiplici cura defessus nunc securus quiesco.
573. 1 Qui post tantum onus multos crebrosque labores
nunc silet et tacito contentus sede quiescit.

Also see 507, 513, 1192, 1274, 1395, and 1580.

Considerable ability is demonstrated by the unique manner in which this topic is treated in the two following inscriptions, namely 1266 and 1533. In 1266 the deceased tells how he traveled to many places and at last found rest in the grave:

(Percurri) terras nec minus et maria
impuri aquae Padi nec minus et Sauis.
(atque deum dedit) ira quod optavi mihi tandem perveni
perpetuam requiem posco.

The tone of 1533 is more striking:

Si non molestum est, hospes, consiste et lege,
navibus velivolis magnum mare saepe cucurri
accessi terras conplures, terminus hic est
quem mihi nascenti quondam Parcae cecinere.
hic meas deposui curas omnesque labores,
sidera non timeo hic nec nimbos nec mare saevom,
nec metuo sumptus ni quaestum vincere possit.
alma Fides, tibi ago grates, sanctissima diva,
fortuna infracta ter me fessum recreasti,
tu digna es quam mortales optent sibi cuncti.
hospes, vive vale, in sumptum superet tibi semper,
qua non sprevisi hunc lapidem dignumq. dicasti.

j) *Sit tibi terra levis*.—This common-place in all probability originated from the idea that the spirit remained in the tomb with the body. The Roman poets were particularly fond of this expression.¹ See Tibullus

ii. 4. 50:

Sit tibi terra levis.

Martial ix. 29. 11:

Sit tibi terra levis mollique tегaris harena,
ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.

vi. 52. 5:

Sis licet ut debes, tellus placata levisque
artificis levior non potes esse manu.

v. 34. 9:

Mollia non rigidus caespes tegat ossa nec illi
terra, gravis fueris: non fuit illa tibi.

Propertius i. 17. 24:

Mihi non ulla pondere terra foret.

A large proportion of the metrical inscriptions contain this sentiment. It occurs most commonly in the stereotyped form, "Sit tibi terra levis" or "Sit terra levis."² The reader or traveler is generally asked to request that the earth rest lightly, or the phrase is tacked on as though it were an afterthought. See

125. 5 Hic situs est, sit tibi terra levis.

451. 3 Sit tibi terra levis, cineres quoque flore tegantur.

970. 6 Dicite, Optate, sit tibi terra levis.

¹ Bruno Lier *Philologus* LXII shows that this common-place is of Greek origin. See *A. P.* vii. 461:

Παμμῆτρον Γῆ, χαίρε, σὺ τὸν πάρος οὐ βαρὺν εἰς σε
Διαιγέρην καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐπέχουσ ἀβαρήs.

² We have observed a few examples of this common-place in connection with the compositions addressed to the stranger, chap. i, p. 8.

Also see 1036. 10, 1040. 6, 1064. 3, 1075. 10, 1088. 7, 1100. 10, 1104, 1117, and 1124.

In the use of this topic there are noteworthy instances where the writers manifested considerable ingenuity in their attempts to avoid a stereotyped form of expression; e. g.,

- 197 Ita levis incumbat terra defuncto tibi
 vel assint quieti cineribus Manes tuis.
 rogo ne sepulcri umbras violare audeas.
475. 8 Quod peto, si colitis Manes cuncti meo nomini semper
 hac mihi terra leve optetis.
1017. 4 Ingenio quorum terram optate levem.
- 1308 Quisque huic tumulo possuit ardentem lucernam
 illius cineres aurea terra tegat.

Also see Inscriptions 429, 438, 562, 1020, 1033, and 1191.

Earth is sometimes personified. This is probably due to an effort to attain a more striking and poetical expression coupled with the conception of earth as a goddess. (See chap. iii, pp. 59-60.)

- 1028 Opto, si qua fides remanet Telluris amicae
 sit tibi perpetuo terra levis tumulo.
1029. 5 Nunc vos contestor, Manes, quibus ossa relinquo
 Tellus huic tumulo ne gravis esse velis.
1153. 5 Terra precor, fecunda, levis super ossa residas
 aestuet infantis ne gravitate cinis.

Also see 1121 and 1217.

The personification is not as marked in the following:

- 1066 Immatura sinu tellus levis accipe Grati
 ossa et legitimo more sepulta fove.
1141. 21 Hanc humus exceptit, leviter precor illa prematque
 infantem ex utero quae quoque sustinuit.

The stone instead of the earth is often personified. There is no thought of deification and this form of expression is used entirely for poetical effect.

- 971 Te Lapis, optestor, leviter super ossa residas
 ne nostro doleat conditus officio.
- 1075 Sta Lapis in longum et luctu defleta parentum
 ne preme, nam teneri corporis ossa tegis.
1192. 9 Te Lapis, optestor, leviter super ossa quiescas,
 et mediae aetati ne gravis esse videaris.

Also see 1012, 1152, 1470-75, and 1538-42.

In 1135 both stone and earth are personified.

Pondere subiecto Thetidis componimur ossa
 grata magis Terrae quam tibi, dure lapis.

REGRET AT DEATH

A very large proportion of the inscriptions are for children, or for those who died prematurely. Nearly all of these contain some sentiment of complaint because the deceased was not permitted to enjoy the full span of life. The most common thought is that the departed would have been great if he had lived until old age.¹

There is not so great a tendency to follow a stereotyped form of expression in the use of this thought as in the preceding. In seven compositions, however, the deceased are made to express their regret at death in almost the same words.

1007 Vide quam indigne raptus inane querar.

1083. 2 Aspice quam indigne sit dat vita mihi.

Also 1539. 2, 1540. 2, 1541. 2, and 1542. 2.

Although there are no other examples of a fixed form of expression, there is a marked similarity in general tone and sentiment. The form employed is the first, second, or third person, the first person is the most common; e. g.,

466 Respice, praeteriens, oro, titulum dolebis
quam praemature nimium sim mortis adeptus.

473 Raptus ego superis patribusque ablati inique
cum frui debueram aetate florida luce.

474. 6 Postea cum sperans dolerem effugisse nefandam
ante diem meritum demersit ad Stygia Pluton.

Similar sentiments of regret at premature death are to be found in Inscriptions 526. 7, 695, 756. 2, 997, 1017. 2, 1035. 5, 1079, 1085. 3, 1086. 3, 1116. 3, 1171, 1260, 1290, 1296, 1306, 1319, 1328, 1329, 1553. 3, and 1606.

In many instances instead of the deceased mourning on account of premature death the parent is represented as the speaker:

1060 Condedit hic miseri mater duo funera partus
ossaque non iustis intulit exequiis.

1200. 3 Vita tibi brevis est, annos tres nata decemque
clara iaces forma nec minus ingenio.

Inscription 1301 is unique. The husband in addressing his wife who is in the tomb speaks of Proserpine as having envied their prayers.

Ll. 3 ff. Persephone votis invidit Pallida nostris
et praemature funaere te rapuit.

Menander tells that these are common-place topics frequently found in funeral orations or on epitaphs. Cf. Menander *περί επιδεικτικῶν* (p. 435, 1 Spengel): ἐὰν δὲ πῶς τύχη ὁ τελευτήσας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸν θρήνον κινήσεις, ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως δὲ ἐφύης, ὅτι μεγάλας παρέσχεν τὰς θλίψεις . . . also Spengel, p. 535. 29 and p. 413. 15. Cf. Seneca *Consol. ad Marc.* xxx. 1: "Nimis tamen cito perit et immaturus." See Lier in *Philologus* LXII, pp. 454 ff.

Somewhat figurative expressions are also found in the following:

401. 5 Namque pios tarde speravi visere Parcae:
frustra, pro domini tamen hoc quod sentio vita est.
1186. 7 Multa quidem bonitate gerens et vernula vernis
nec nimie, convivia rapuit dum gloria vitae
sperebam rate infernas subito delatus ad umbras,
bis septem placidos annos et adhuc formatus in unum.

The thought that the deceased would have been great if he had been permitted to live his entire life is found in the following:

8. 4 Quibus sei in longa licuisset tibi utier vitae
facile facteis superasses gloriam maiorum.
506 Hic erat hic primus, genitor ut glorius essem
si Fortuna quidem fati non laeva fuissent.

Also 1170. 7 and 1166. 5.

This common-place is found as well in Greek inscriptions. See Kaibel 39.

εἰ σε τύχῃ προὔπεμψε καὶ ἡλικίας ἐπέβησεν
ἐλπίδι γ' ἦσθα μέγας τῶι τε δοκῆμι Μακαρεῦ
ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς Ἑλλήσιν ἔσεσθαι
σωφροσύνηι δ' ἀρετῇ τε οὐκ ἀκλεῆς ἔθανες.

Often expressions of regret on account of premature death are not confined to one or two lines but are the central thought of the entire composition; see 563:

. . . go cui pater addiderat nomenque merebat
hic viridis gemmae pretiosae nomen habebat,
sed cito me rapuit, matrique dolorem reliquit.
vita fuit bis ternos menses et insuper unus
et totidem anni, nec plus fuit hora suprema
fert animo sortem placido quam vota ferebant.

Others of similar character are 420, 430, 474, 475, 969, 971, 1055, 1061, 1117, and 1122. A number of compositions which have been discussed in the previous chapter in connection with those that show great grief and sincerity of expression belong to this type.

WHAT IS RIGHT FOR A SON TO DO FOR A PARENT UNTIMELY DEATH CAUSED A PARENT TO DO FOR A SON

This statement is found in a number of inscriptions for those who died prematurely. There is very little change in the form of expression.

- 164 Quod par parenti fuerat facere filium
mors immatura fecit ut faceret pater.

See also 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 1546, *et al.*

- 1479 Si non fatorum praepostera iura fuissent
mater in hoc titulo debuit ante legi.

Also 1480 and 1484.

In the following examples the stereotyped form of expression is avoided by various forms of expression. The central thought that the parent should die first is unchanged.

- 818 Filius hunc titulum debebat ponere matri.
 984. 6 Nepos ut faceret, aequius hoc fuerat.
 1149. 4 Et mater tepido condidit ossa rogo,
 quae prius hoc titulo debuit ante legi.

Similar expressions occur in Inscriptions 1150, 1153, 1155, 1200, 1212, 1486, 1549, 1569, and 1591.

The following are still more modified from the conventional form:

93. 3 Nec licitum est misera sorte me ut aequom fuit
 meis referre lacrumulam parentibus.
 376. 3 Fas erat ut potius natus pia funera nobis
 penderet et dignos coleret Manesque patresque.
 382. 2 Sic tulerat Fatus, non exsuperasse parentes.

Also 510, 555. 5, 637. 4, 1157, 1203, 1204, 1208, 1402, 1405, 1478, and 1534.

In several inscriptions considerable individuality is shown in handling this topic.

474. 8 Quotsi fata eo sinuissent luce videre,
 ista prius triste munus posui dolere repletus
 munus inane quidem.
 456. 4 Quod si longa magis duxissent fila sorores
 aequius iste complecteret ossa paterna.

No. 822 is identical with 456. No. 972 contains considerable feeling; see especially ll. 5 and 6.

Vixisses utinam et potius mea charta taceret
 quam mihi scribendi causa, Latina, fores.

Also 1168, ll. 7-10:

Et quae debebam matri supremo tempore terram
 ponere vel maestos pietatis scindere crines
 effecit properans mortis quae venerat hora
 ut genetrix casus fleret ubique meos.

In 1228 the children are regarded as cruel because they deserted their father.

Hos duo testa tegit coniecta in unum
 crudelis, quia deseruere patrem.

Inscription 1550 is worthy of notice. The mother mourns because her daughter died first and that some other hand will close her own eyes.

Hunc titulum natae genetrix decepta paravi
 post teneros manes et acerbae funera mortis

illa bis octonos vixit miseranda per annos
elegitque sub hac non tristes lege tenebras,
ut plenos lacrimis oculos manus altera claudat.

Fate or Fortune is often regarded as taking one away prematurely.¹

382. 2 Sic tulerat Fatus, non exsuperasse parentes.

447. 3 Nec licuit lumen fato superare parentes.

502. 4 Fato cito raptus iniquo.

Also see 456, 474, 566. 1, 822, 980. 3, 986, 1050, 1065, 1067, 1069, 1146, 1213, 1252, 1479-84, and 1591.

Very rarely is any complaint expressed on account of the death of an old person, but on the contrary, there is generally the feeling that death was perfectly proper. See Inscription 380 written by a son to his father.

Eutychis, ut par est, tribuit tibi natus honores
iuxta quem dulcem dederant tibi fata maritum.

There are a few instances where this common-place is employed by a husband in telling of the regret on account of the death of his wife.

548. 7 Basileus fecit, quod fieri ab illa cupiebat.

1130 Ultima fatorum, coiunx, tibi munera pono:
officium hoc, testor, debuit esse tuum.

1138. 2 Optarem in manibus coniugis occidere.

1487 Quod fore morte mea speraram a coniuge nobis,
id cineri infelix constitui ac lacrimans.

MISERANDUS, MISERRIMUS, MISERABILIS, AND INFELIX

In many cases these terms are applied to the deceased instead of fuller statements of regret for premature death. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 882:

Heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas.

x. 825:

Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis.

Buech. 397 Rapta sinu matris iacet hic miserabilis infas.

432. 3 Sprevisi patrem, matremque, miserrime nate.

476. 7 Me Germana creat tellus myseram.

496 Hic iaceo infelix Zmyrna puella tenebris.

Also see 516. 4, 541, 588. 1, 769. 11, 963. 4, 1060. 1, 1075. 4, and 1171. 3.

TAKEN IN FLOWER OF LIFE

These expressions of regret on account of premature death appear to have been used as well by the popular poets. The most common of these is that one was taken away while in the flower of life. Cf. Stat. *Sil.* v. 5. 18:

Quisquam adhuc tenerae signatum flore
immersit cinere iuvenem.

¹ As the belief in this power will be discussed in chap. iii, p. 71, in connection with the religion of the Romans we shall give but a few references at this point.

Silius Italicus i. 376:

Emicat ante omnis primaevo flore iuventae
Insignis Rutulo Murrus de sanguine.

Vergil *Aen.* vii. 162:

Ante urbem pueri et primaevo flore iuventus
exercendus equis.

Catullus xvii. 14:

Quoi cum sit viridissimo nupta flore puella et
puella tenellulo delicatior haedo.

Catullus xxiv. 1: Florusculus iuventiorum; lxi. 57: Floridam puellulam;
lxiv. 251: Florens Iacchus; lxxviii. 16: Iucundum cum aetas florida ver
ageret; c. 2: Flos iuenum; lxi. 21:

Floridus velut enitens
Myrtus Asia ramulus
Quos hamadryades deae
Ludicrum sibi rosido
Nutriunt remore.

Lucretius v. 1073: Florente aetate iuventus; Vergil *Ecl.* vii. 4: Florentes
aetatibus; Petron. *Satyr.* 132: Anni primo florentes vigore; also cf. Homer
Il. xvi. 857:

ὃν πότμον γλοῶσα, λιποῦσ' ἀνδρσιγῆτα καὶ ἥβην.

The phrases most commonly found in the metrical inscriptions are *dum
floruit*, *in flore*, and *flos iuventae*; e. g.,

- 327 Florentem meritis Chrysanti nomine famam
patria concelebrant cuncti populique patresque.
378. 2 Cum iam bis senos explessset floridus annos.

Also see 113, 362, 379. 1, 465, 488, 547, 821, 1471, *et al.*

This topic gives considerable opportunity for attempts at variety by
means of poetical, and figurative expressions; e. g.,

216. 6 Rosa simul florivit et statim periit.
409. 3 Ille ego qui vixi bis deno circite solis
flore genas tereno vernans et robore pollens.
565. 3 Flos aetatis hic iacet intus condita saxo.
629. 3 At pressus graviter omisi cum flore iuventam.
1489 Aspice quam subito marcet quod floruit ante,
aspice quam subito quod stetit ante cadit.

Also see 639. 4, 967, and 1190.

Inscription 722 shows a peculiar attempt at individuality. The writer in
an effort to avoid *florens* substitutes *vegilians*.

- L. 4 Ter denis fuit annis vegetans in corpore mundo.

In two Christian inscriptions this common-place expression is used to apply to the deceased when in heaven.

726. 5 Vita signatur eum, mortis nec vincula vincat
semper in aeterna caelesti floreat aula.
727. 7 Eden in regione locatus sim floribus ad hoc
deboret.

TAKEN ON THRESHOLD OF LIFE

This common-place, as well as the preceding, is used to express regret for those who died before they lived their allotted period of life. Like many of the others it is frequently used by the popular poets. See Stat. *Silvae* ii. 1. 36:

Hinc anni stantes in limine vitae.

Lucan *Phars.* ii. 106:

Nec primo in limine vitae
infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata.

Seneca *Herc. Fur.* 1140:

Quas in primo limine vitae scelus oppressit
patriusque furor.

The following metrical inscriptions afford the best examples of the use of this common-place:

567. 4 Rapuit quem mors in limine vitae.
679. 1 Hic iacet extinctus primo sub limine vitae.

Also see 569. 3, 997. 1, 1069. 2, and 1214. 5.

In 1346. 2, we have a reference to the threshold of death instead of life.

Hic funus crudele situm, primum iubenta
ereptus iubentis limina mortis adiit
Eutichius sapiens.

THE IDEA THAT THE DECEASED HAS BEEN SNATCHED AWAY FROM LIFE

The Romans appear to have believed in some superior power which directed the life of man and was responsible for his death. When one was taken prematurely this power was considered as snatching the deceased away. It is many times definitely defined as the Fates, the gods, or death.¹ At other times no particular agent is specified. This common-place thought is found in the Latin poets as well as in the metrical inscriptions. See Martial x. 53. 3:

Invidia quem Lachesis raptum trieteride nona
dum numerat palmas, credidit esse serum.

¹ See chap. iii on the "Religion of the Romans," pp. 66 and 70.

i. 88. 1:

Alcmine, quem raptum domino crescentibus annis
Lavicina levi caespite velat humas.

vi. 58. 3:

O quam paene tibi Stygias ego raptus ad undas
Eutychos vidi.

Ovid *Am.* ii. 6. 25: Raptus es invidia; *Met.* xiii. 45: Rapta sinu matris,
and *Tristia* iii. 3. 52. Martial ix. 29. 2:

Rapta es ad inferas tam cito Ditis aquas.

Vergil *Aen.* ix. 138: Coniuge praerepta; Ovid *Met.* i. 358: Fatis erepta;
Her. x. 43: Iamque oculis ereptas eras; Verg. *Aen.* ii. 378: Coniux fato
mihi erepta Creusa; Statius *Theb.* viii. 102: Sic merui de luce rapi.

The power which is most commonly considered in the metrical inscriptions as snatching one away is Fate. This is generally personified under the names *Fata*, *Parcae*, and *Fortuna*. This function is attributed to fate in nearly fifty inscriptions. As we shall consider the belief in the following chapter it will be necessary to give only a few examples of this common-place here. See

101. 5 Fata inviderunt mihi
raptumque ab arte tradiderunt hoc loco.

387. 6 Rapta meis fatis.

409. 6 Quia me rapuit Fatum.

1165. 5 Raptus est octavo fatis instantibus anno.

The Parcae.—These are referred to either collectively or as individuals.

See

537 Parcae te miseris rapuere parentibus.

1141. 13 Hanc Atropos rapuit Lachesisque et tertia Clotho.

1549. 5 Adiecit Clotho iteratum rumpere filum,
ut natum raperet tristis, ut ante mihi.

Fortuna.—

569 Gaudia quae dederat rapuit Fortuna repente.

1814. 6 Invida sed rapuit semper Fortuna probatos.

Fors synonymous with Fate.—

974 Invida sors fati rapuisti Vitalem.

1409 Quam male sors leti confundit prospera vitae
ut citius terris quod placet eripiat.

As in the case of the Fates, the majority of instances where the gods are considered as the power taking one from life before the allotted time will be given in the following chapter. A few examples at this point will be sufficient to denote the general character of the common-place; e. g.,

1057 Et puer inmites quem rapuere dei.

1309. 5 Quam ereptam terris pia numina subtraxerunt.

Also 603, 1060, 1310, and 1592.

Death.—In thirty-nine inscriptions death is represented as the ruthless power taking one from this life.

56. 6 Mors animam eripuit.

59. 8 Crudelis mors eripuit sueis parentibus.

75. 3 Quem mors acerba eripuit a parentibus.

See 181. 2, 441. 3, and 768. 2.

In 1210. 3 it is called shipwrecking death.

Naufraga mors pariter rapuit quos iunxerat ante.

Also see 444, 557, 585, 587, 619, 627, 647, 652, 674, 698, 742, 995, 1011, 1055, 1067, *et al.* for references to Fate or death snatching away from life.

The composers of the metrical inscriptions did not seem satisfied with the statements that the Fates, the gods, or death snatched one away. They taxed their ingenuity to invent various terms for this power as the home of Dis, the fatal hour, dark night, the light, envious Pluto, the shades, chance, and Proserpine.

The fatal hour.—

389. 2 Subito fatalia me abstulit hora.

1314 Abstulit hora gravis.

Cruel light.—

422. 6 Abstulit o saeva lux nona parentibus orta.

1236 Dum tertia non lux

Coniugium et natos, omne decus rapuit.

The third year.—

1815. 3 Vixit annis duodecies senis nam tertius apstulit illum.

The twentieth year.—

978 Eripuit nobeis unde vicensimus annus.

Tempus durum.—

1558. 4 Quam tempus durum rapuit.

Funus.—Cf. Lucan i. 104:

... ubi saeva
arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus
Assyrias Latio maculant.

Buech. 589. 2 Revvenae genitus, Salonis funere raptus.

702. 1 Quamvis maturo rapiaris funere, dulcis.

737 o Rhode . . . acervo mihi funere rapta.

Also 1143, 1218, 1336, and 1828.

Dark night.—

803 Florentes annos, subito nox abstulit atra.

Proserpine, in 1161 and 1301. Manes, 1034, 1164, 1224, 1572.¹

Clades.—

979. 6 Sic rapuit clades corpus acerba nimis.

Casus.—

1214. 9 Sed tibi praeripuit casus tot praemia laudum.

Envious Pluto is considered as taking one away in 1014. 3; *Italia tellus* in 1026; and *ingenium* in 1577. 2.

References to a hostile hand are found in three inscriptions.

376. 1 Manlius hic situs est Montanus raptus inique
femineaque manu.

987. 3 Eripuit me saga manus crudelisque ubique.

1596. 3 Hunc mihi inique inimica manus abstulit coniugem carum.

This common-place is used most frequently—there are eighty-three examples of it—where no definite agent is expressed which snatches the deceased away from life. There is not as great an effort here to acquire poetical language or use expressions which show individuality. A few examples of this will be sufficient to demonstrate its general characteristics.

397 Rapta sinu matris iacet hic miserabilis infas.

421. 31 Abrepta a superis flentes iam liqui parentes.

423. 2 Oppia iam non est, erepta est Oppia Fremo.

969. 6 Nunc erepta domu cara suis tegitur.

1007. 2 Et vide quam indigne raptus inane querar.

ENVY OF SOME POWER THE CAUSE OF DEATH

Frequently the statement is made that death is due to the envy of some power. The Fates, the gods, or death begrudged one his existence and took him away. Like the foregoing common-places this is used almost entirely for children, or those who died prematurely. This sentiment is found many times among the Roman poets. Cf. Ovid *Ars. am.* ii. vi. 25:

Raptus es invidia, non tu fera bella movebas.

Lucan *De bello civile* i. 70:

Invida fatorum series summisque negatum
Stare diu nimioque graves sub pondere lapsus
Nec se Roma ferens.

Statius *Theb.* x. 384:

Invida fata piis et fors ingentibus ausis
rara comes.

¹ See chap. iii, pp. 62 and 64.

Martial ix. 76. 6:

Invidet de tribus una soror,
et festinatis incidet stamina pensis
absentamque patri rettulit urna rogum.

Vergil *Aen.* xi. 42:

"Ten," inquit, "miserandi puer, cum laeta veniret
invidit fortuna mihi."

Vergil *Aen.* xi. 269: Invidisse Deos.

In the metrical inscriptions, death is attributed to the envy of the Fates in a large proportion of instances.¹

- 101. 5 Dum studerem, fata inviderunt mihi.
- 555. 4 Invida fatorum genesis mihi sustulit illam.
- 386. 4 Invida set fati lex reddidit inrita vota.

Also see 465. 2, 588. 5, 647. 2, 649. 7, 974, 995, 1057, 1059, 1149, 1170, 1279, 1311, 1339, 1409, and 1846.

This power is often more definitely personified as the *Parcae*.² These are referred to collectively or by their individual names. There seems to have been an effort where the names of these goddesses were used to attain poetical phraseology and avoid the common-place. See

- 422. 9 Musae mihi dederant puero facundus ut essem.
invidit Lachesis, Clotho me saeva necavit.
- 537 Parcae te miseris rapuere parentibus urna
spectantes animo invido tuae gloriae cursum.
- 1164. 4 Invida quem tenerum Parca tenax rapuit.

Also 1169. 7, 1206. 1, 1222. 5, and 1590. 5.

That envy in this connection was regarded as a common-place is illustrated by the phrase, "well-known envy of the *Parcae*." See Inscription 547. 4:

Cum iam Parcarum nota sustulit invida Diti.

In ten inscriptions this unseen power which is envious of life of the deceased is not Fate but Death. See

- 429. 2 Quae fuerim, quove in spatio mors me invida traxit.
- 986. 4 Traditus est mihi nunc quem mors inimica premit.

Also 698. 18, 984. 5, 1011. 1, 1195. 6, 1365. 23, 1375. 1, 1388. 1, and 1395. 21.

In four compositions untimely death is due to the envy of some one of the deities.³

Further examples of Fate as envious of the deceased will be found in chap. iii, pp. 72 ff.

¹ See chap. iii, p. 73, for further discussion.

³ See chap. iii, p. 66.

54. 3 Quam nei esset, nescio qui invidet deus.
 596. 2 Quam mihi di dederant si non tamen invidi fuissent.

Also 1014. 4 and 1301. 3.

Frequently there is no reference to the envy of any definite power, as in the foregoing examples, but envy in the abstract is regarded as responsible for death. Often this conception is rendered more vivid by means of personification.

761. 2 Invida infelix tandem compressa quiescit.
 783. 9 Invida natos . . . vocavit.
 963. 1 O iucundum lumen superum, o vitae iucunda voluptas,
 florenti si non succederet invidia.
 invidus aurato surrexit mihi Lucifer astro
 cum miseram me urgeret invidia.

Also see 1018, 1079, 1118, 1141, 1218, 1271, 1299. 2, 1298, 1829. 8.

Not only was Fate, the gods, or whatever this unseen power might have been regarded as envious of the life of those taken away prematurely, but it was considered as deceptive by not permitting them to live longer. In the *Carmina* there is but one reference to any definite power. That is to death in Inscription 984. 5:

Mors invida, fallere cogis.

In the other instances no definite power is named. The child or young person deceived those left when he died, or was taken by deceit. See

- 144 Miseri parentes qui in spem tollunt filias
 si spes decepit cum viderunt mortuas.
 432. 3 Sprevisi patrem matremque, miserrime nate.
 1216. 4 Occidit et tristes decepit maesta fovendo.

Ideas of deceit also contained in Inscriptions 493. 11, 498. 2, 537. 5, 627. 4, 649. 5, 821, 1232, 1400. 6, 1550. 1, and 1581. 4.

NON LICUIT, DUM LICUIT, ETC.

These phrases are found in many compositions for young persons. They convey the impression that there was some unseen power which the Romans conceived of as guiding the affairs of man and determining his death. When those that were taken had not been permitted an entire span of life it was perfectly proper to express sentiments of regret and disappointment. With this common-place no definite power is named except in Inscription 1011 where it is stated that death did not permit a longer life. In the other instances the subject which is understood is very likely some power as the Fates, the gods, or death.

Non licuit.—

103. 6 Natos curavit, quos mihi non licuit frui.
 446. 3 Non licuit cupidos longum gaudere parentes.
 447. 3 Non licuit lumen fato superare parentes.

Also see 526, 1011, 1058, 1079, 1197, 1403, 1553, 1592, 1603, and 1823.

Dum licuit, etc.—

- 652 Vix mihi tecum
 coniubii gratias licuit coniugere taedas.
 970. 2 Vixi dum licuit superis acceptior unus.

Also see 971. 3, 1082, and 1355. 4.

One is only permitted to perform funeral rites.¹ See

517. 1 Reddere quod solum licuit post morte mariti.
 518. 2 Reddere quod solum licuit post fata sepulcrum.

Also see 568, 1134, 1142. 17, and 1267.

TO LEAVE THE LIGHT AT DEATH

Many thought that when one left this life he either dwelt in the dark tomb with the Manes, or went to the gloomy and cheerless region populated by the shades.² From this conception of the condition after death very likely arose the common-place expression *lucem relinquere*.

The Roman poets constantly substitute this for *mori*. See the following examples: Ovid *Met.* xiv. 724:

Non tamen ante tui curam cessisse memento
 quam vitam; geminaque simul mihi luce carentum.

Vergil *Georg.* iv. 472:

Umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum.

Stat. *Theb.* viii. 102:

Nec alma
 Sic merui de luce rapi.

Vergil *Aen.* iii. 311:

Nate dea, vivisne? aut si lux alma recessit
 Hector ubi sit?

Martial iv. 73. 7:

Tunc legas partitus opes a luce recessit.

Lucretius *De rerum nat.* iii. 1040:

Decurso lumine vitae.

¹ See chap. iv, consolation that one is allowed to perform funeral rites and erect tomb.

² See chap. v, on belief in immortality of the Romans.

Ovid *Trist.* iii. 35:

Integer hanc potui nuper bene reddere lucem.

It is quite probable that the composers of the metrical inscriptions appropriated this common-place from the Latin poets. The expressions found most commonly are *amittere lucem*, *carere lucem*, *relinquere lucem*, and *lux rapta est*. These occur over fifty times. See

113. 3 Lucemque caruit.

398. 2 Quae caruit luce et tenebris se miscuit atris.

466. 3 Triginta annorum rapta est mihi lux gratissima vitae.

Also see 80, 93, 104, 222, 367, 424, 445, 496. 3, 514, 516, 524, 528, 1603, and 1606.

Sometimes they thought of the light as snatched away. See

78 Inspexi lucem, subito quae erepta est mihi.

466. 3 Triginta annorum rapta est mihi lux gratissima vitae.

516. 7 Luce privata.

514. 2 Fraudatus luce.

651 Pribatus luce.

Also see 555, 663, 701, 1083, 1084, 1431, 1438, and 1611 where similar expressions are to be found.

An agent snatching away the light is sometimes specified.

93 Quarto decumo anno infelix mihi venit dies
quae vitam et lucem reliquam praecideret.

222. 3 Quod fata properis cursibus
rapuere lucis usibus.

445. 5 Annus X privavit munere lucis.

No. 963. 5 has *aetas* and Nos. 1169. 8 and 1304. 4 have *acerba dies*.

Several writers displayed particular ingenuity in dealing with this common-place, substituting more figurative and poetical statements for the stereotyped expression. See

660. 2 Qui lucem tenebris mutavit amaris.

1206. 1 Invida Parcarum series livorque malignus
bis septena mea rupuerunt stamina lucis.

Also see 1239, 1346, 1385, 1400, 1410, and 1550B. 1.

In 542. 3 a husband states that he lost the light when his wife died.

Dulcem carui lucem, cum te amisi ego, coniunx.

Similar statements occur in Inscriptions 1431 and 1523.

In 995 the one surviving desires to leave the light in order to follow the one who has been taken away.

995B. 17 At nunc quod possum, fugiam lucem deosque
ut te matura per Styga morte sequar.

As the statements "to deprive one of the light," "to leave the light," etc., meant to die, so the phrase "to see the light" often signified to live. Cf. Lucan iv. 568: *Despectam cernere lucem*. See Inscription

456 *Denos vix passa est cernere lucem.*

474. 8 *Quodsi fata eo sinuissent lucem videre.*

Also see 392, 475, 512, 542, 1128, 1410, and 1523.

In contrast to the idea that the deceased goes to the dark and cheerless region where he will be shut off from the light is the one found in a few compositions that he is enjoying the light in heaven. With but one exception—Inscription 525—this statement is confined to Christian inscriptions.

525. 7 *Nec minus et luce frueris cum fama superest.*

662. 6 *Splendori cum luce claro.*

734. 7 *Felix luce nova saeculorum in saecula gaudet.*

Also 735. 3, 1347B. 14, and 1839. 2.

LIFE AS A ROAD

Life is sometimes regarded as a road which men must travel.¹ This common-place is also found in the popular Roman poets. See Propertius iv. 6. 2:

Per te immaturum mortis adimus iter.

Propertius iii. 18. 21:

Est mala, sed cunctis ista terenda via est.

Vergil *Aen.* iv. 653:

Vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi.

See Buech.

385. 4 *Vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi.*

Also 814.

610. 2 *Sic Fortuna tibi dederat transcurrere vitam.*

998 *Cum sit communis omnibus una via.*

Also see 711, 970, 971, 1048, 1066, 1341, 1347B. 2, 1395, and 1406.

MANNER OF LIFE; LIVED WITHOUT CRIME, ETC.

A number of inscriptions necessarily give some account of the manner of life of the deceased. This may be an elaborate account of the deeds such as would be classed under the topic of personal encomium, as we discussed in the preceding chapter, or a simpler and briefer statement. This latter very often takes the form of the common-place expression, that the deceased lived without committing any crime. Like the other common-

¹ See chap. iv, pp. 79 f., consolation on inevitability of death, and Lier *Philologus* LXII, p. 564.

place expressions which we have observed there are many examples of this in the Roman poets. See Ovid *Tristia* iv. 3. 47:

Denique, uti vixi, sine crimine mortuus essem.

Her. xvi. 17:

Fama tamen clara est, et adhuc sine crimine vixi.

Tristia iv. 10. 71:

Illi successit quamvis sine crimine vivit.

Rem. am. 37:

His lacrimis contentus eris sine crimine mortis.

Verg. *Aen.* iv. 550:

Non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
degere, more ferae, tales nec tangere curas.

Cato *Dist.* i. 5. 2:

Cum culpant alios, nemo sine crimine vivit.

The following from the metrical inscriptions are worthy of notice:

382. 4 Quinque et viginti annos sine crimine vixit.

485 Vixi ter denos annos sine crimine ullo.

Also see 486, 552, 618, 633, 840, 1004, 1044, 1088, 1104, 1105, 1203, 1433, and 1439.

Sine lite is commonly substituted for *sine crimine*. See

72 Sine lite et questu ullius vixi quom fide.

477. 7 Praestiti quod potui, semper sine lite recessi.

Also 134. 4, 561. 3, and 1571.

Querela is used in the following:

689. 3 Nulla manente querela.

1593. 3 Quae vixit sine ulla querela.

The manner of life is often narrated without the use of any of these fixed expressions. A brief and straightforward statement of the kind of life lived is given. The phrases *ut potui*, *qua potui*, *cum potui*, *quodque modo potui*, etc., are frequently employed in order to avoid the offense caused by self-laudation. This is in marked contrast to the highly embellished accounts of the deeds which we discussed in connection with the compositions that follow the topics of personal encomium. A few of the most typical examples of the use of this method of describing the manner of life lived will suffice. Cf.

70 Honestam vitam vixit pius et splendidus
ut sibi quisque exoptet vivere.

84. 4 Vixi ego, dum volui, bene.

93. 7 Dulcissima autem et suavis meis vixi omnibus.

Also 85. 1, 134. 3, and 381. 3.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DECEASED

In addition to statements of the age of the deceased, the fact that his bones are in the tomb, that he lies here, and the manner of life, an account of his characteristics is found in nearly every composition. Although there is no fixed form which the writers employed there are certain stock characteristics which particularly appealed to them. Of these the virtue of chastity seems to have been the most admired. Other characteristics which are commonly mentioned are as follows: *Amoenus, beatus, aequus, clarus, carus, carissima, cara viro, contentus parvo, doctus, dulcis, dulcissima, devotus, digna marito, innocuus, hilaris, honestus, intellegens, reverens, integer, magnanimus, nobilis, sapiens, simplex, splendidus, sobria, and sanctus.*

The writer usually took one or two lines and brought out in a direct and brief statement the most prominent qualities; e. g.,

67. 1 Haec est quae vixit, semper natura proba.
 401 Egregius puer atque Titus libertus habebat.
 782. 2 Casta gravis sapiens clemens moderata quieta.

Also see Inscriptions 237 and 386.

Often there is an attempt to obtain more variety by means of slight personification; e. g.,

213. 5 Quod interisset flos, pudor simplex.
 586 Hic iacet ambigua pietas, dolor et pudor in se
 Nomine Sofrinus.
 686 Hic pietas, hic prisca fides, hic integra vita.

Considerable extravagance of statement is seen in the following:¹

483. 3 Doctior hoc nemo fuit, potuit quem vincere nemo.
 610. 5 Si Charites aliquae, laudis si gloria summa
 omnia sunt tecum.
 681. 5 Miranturque patres tanta virtute puellae.

The statements in the following are particularly unique:

305. 4 Sanguine purpureo sequeris, Yacinthe probatus.
 330. 1 Ursulus illustris mentis et sanguine clarus.
 525. 4 Sucidus in membris, oculis et corpore sano.
 544. 6 Cuius ab ore
 blanda fluunt mella et rubor, in facie rosa fulget.

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MONUMENT, THE GIVER OF
THE TOMB, ETC.

The composition generally informs the reader by whom the monument was made and who is the author of the inscription. In the majority of

¹ A number of these properly belong to the topic *φύσις τῆς ψυχῆς* in encomium.

instances this is stated by means of a direct simple statement devoid of any elaboration; e. g.,

59. 18 Quas ob res hoc monumentum aedificavit pater.
 367. 3 Hic vobis dignis una mecum dedit hoc monumentum.
 1214. 11 Ultima donavi tamen haec pia munera mater.

Also see 99. 8, 139. 1, 140. 1, and 583. 1.

The one building the monument often offers as an apology that he was unable to furnish a more elaborate structure on account of his poverty;

e. g.,

- 204 Si pro virtute et animo fortunam habuissem
 magnificum monumentum hic aedificassem tibi.
 1042 Pro paupertate haec summo tibi tempore, coniunx
 ut potui, meritis parvola dona dedi.

Also see Inscriptions 1086. 7, 1087, 1088, 1102, 1172, 1208, 1246, and 1313.

Many compositions give directions regarding the care of the monument. Those left are asked to decorate the tomb and not to permit anyone to sell it.

- 578 Quisquis heres post me dominus laris huius et orti
 vicinas mihi carpe rosas, mihi lilia pone
 candida que viridis dabit ortulus: ista beatum.
 579. 2 Qui dominus fuerit huius
 vendere ne liceat caveo adque rogo per numina divom
 vendere si velet, emptorem littera prohibet.

Also see 431, 492, 610, 616, 1036, 1064, 1078, 1111, 1135, 1183, 1185, 1223, 1244, 1256, 1279, 1308, 1334, 1335, 1432, 1538, 1516, 1583, and 1594.

SYNONYMS USED FOR MONUMENT

Such terms as *domus*, *sedes*, *cubiculum*, and *hospitium* are constantly employed in place of *monumentum*. The most common of these is *domus*.¹ See

- 71 Multo labore industria vigilantia
 hic primum sibi et sueis rem repperit.
 pietate egregius semper dilexit suos
 et hanc in vita instituit aeternam domum.
 88 Studium habui ut facerem viva mihi aeternam domum.

Also see 59, 72, 84, 90, 117, 136, 225, 542, 653, 662, 698, 965, 1097, etc.²

The term "grave as seat" is employed nearly as commonly as the foregoing. There are a number of instances where the popular poets use this expression. See Lucan *Phars.* viii. 768:

Si det in Hesperiam, non hac in sede quiescant
 tam sacri cineres.

¹ See Lier *Philologus* LXII, p. 563.

² See chap. iv. on inevitability of death, and chap. v, p. 79.

Vergil *Aen.* vi. 328:

Quam sedibus ossa quierunt.

371:

Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.

The following from the *Carmina* are typical of the use of this:

471 Hic sedem aeternam vivi facere volentes.

467 Aeternam tibi sedem Hermes aramque dicavi.

574 Has sedes genitor dum vita manet sibi fecit.

Cubiculum is commonly used.—

638 Haec post bis quinos sequitur Piruntia mater
annos et aeterno iungit pia membra cubili.

Or the grave is referred to as *hospitium*.—

460 Ipse suo curam titulo dedit, ipse sepulcri
arbiter hospitium membris fatoque paravit.

856. 10 Qui pietate sua coleret fastigia nostra
hospitiumque mihi secura servavit in aeuum.

REWARDS FOR DEEDS ON EARTH

The idea that the monument is placed as a reward for the manner of life lived by the deceased is often presented to the reader.¹ Such phrases as *pro meritis*, *merenti*, *merito*, *merito fecit* occur over seventy times in the metrical inscriptions. The following will suffice as typical examples:

117. 2 Pro meritis statuit coiux coiugei at sibi.

125. 4 Coniugei bene merenti fecit.

Also 461. 1, 486. 6, 632. 2.

The monument is often considered an inadequate reward.

509 Possidet non merita locus hic cito corpus iniquum.

1050 Qui quia non possunt donis aequare merentem
Basse, tuis meritis respondere queunt.

1088. 2 Quanta tibi debentur praemia laudis
aureus hic titulus et littera nominis auro
condecorata legi debet.

No. 1107 is unique:

O utinam vivo potuissem praemia morum
reddere, nunc lacrimas accipe pro meritis.

A number of inscriptions inform the reader that the deceased was rewarded with eternal life. This is especially characteristic of Christian inscriptions.

¹ Cf. Ovid *Met.* xiii. 372: Hunc titulum meritis; *Am.* iii. vi. 105: At tibi pro meritis.

318. 5 Quae meruit caelo semper habitare beata.
 394. 2 Felix Elysiis merito levis umbra moraris.
 662. 3 Vivit cum sanctis pro meritis et opera tanta.

Ten epitaphs contain the statement that death was not merited.

110. 4 Non ut meruit vita functa est subito.
 509. 1 Possidet non merita locus hic cito corpus iniquum.

Also see 560B. 4 ff., 713, 771, 997, 1035, 1388, 1604, and 1788.

In contrast to the sentiment that death was not merited is the statement found in two compositions that death was merited.

1238. 28 Sic meruit, vixitque sine fraude, mori.
 1390. 12 Felicem fateor, sic meruisse mori.

There are a number of topics employed so constantly by the writers of the inscriptions that they may well be classed as common-place. As these will be treated in connection with the religion and belief in life after death in the following chapters it will be unnecessary to discuss them here. The most noteworthy of these are expressions of doubt, as *Si quid sapiunt inferi*, and *Si qua pietas est caelestibus*, and the assertion that prayers are useless.¹ The frequent comparisons between the condition on earth and that after death and the information given that nothing is left but ashes may be regarded as common-place topics.²

CLAUSULAE USED

As well as the more lengthy common-place topics employed in the formation of the compositions there are a number of clausulae constantly used to piece out lines. The most common of these are *crudele funere*, *post fata*, *pietate parentis*, *si dicere fas est*, *viduata marito*, and *iuncta marito*.

Crudele funere.—

1026. 1 Italia me rapuit crudeli funere tellus.
 dum foveo assidua sedulitate virum.

Also see 588. 6, 1143, 1146, and 1218.

Funus acerbum, etc.—

- 430 Hic iacet exanimus delectae corpus alumnae
 quam Parcae insontem meruerunt funere acerbo.

Also see 629, 649, 695, 737, and 1591.

Post fata.—

433. 6 Augustale suo capiens post fata recepto.

¹ See chap. iii, p. 64, and chap. v, p. 115, for a discussion of these.

² See chap. v, p. 116, for a discussion of these topics.

618 Qui dolet interitum, mentem soletur amore.
tollere mors vitam potuit, post fata superstes
fama viget, periit corpus, sed nomen in ore est.

Also see 518. 1, 710, 729, 1106, 1357, and 1611.

Pietate parentis.—

249. 20 Taurinus kari iussus pietate parentis
hoc posuit donum.

Also see 475. 1 and 1571.

Si dicere fas est.—

371. 8 Sed tuta aeterno maneat, si dicere fas est.

Also 665. 2.

Viduata marito.—

433. 4 Intra quinque tori menses viduata marito.

Also 487. 9.

Iuncta marito.—

386. 3 Kara fui casto bene iuncta pudica marito.

Also 384 and 670.

II. COMPOSITION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE COMMON-PLACE TOPICS

We will now turn to the compositions themselves in order to see to what extent these common-place topics and expressions were employed by the composers. A study of the inscriptions will show that there are very few which do not contain one or more of these, that a large majority contain at least three, and over one hundred, from five to nine.

On account of the length to which we have already drawn this chapter it will not be practicable to discuss all the inscriptions thus formed. The transcription of a few of the most typical will be adequate to demonstrate the method of composition. Inscription 93, for example, contains five common-place topics—*aetas*, *lucem relinquere*, *non licuit lacrimare*, *raptus a morte*, and *ratio vitae*.

Quarto decumo anno infelix mihi venit dies
quae vitam et lucem relicuam praecideret
non licitum est misera sorte ut aequom fuit
meis referre lacrumulum parentibus,
verum me mors acerba senibus his prius
aetate immatura abstulit fato invidio.
dulcissima autem et suavis meis vixi omnibus.

Inscription 96 contains *a quo tumulus factus est*, *tumulus est domus aeterna*, *mores*, *aetas*, and *fata non parcunt*.

Hoc Proculus Seiae Victorinae coniugi
fecitque matri Victorinus filius:

tribus sit eadem sedis aeternae domus.
viro peregit haec quo semper comes
probiue castae feminae mores erant.
decessit annos nupta viginti et duos.
scias viator: fata non parcunt bonis.

Inscription 448 has *in tumulo, rapta, merenti, a quo tumulus factus*.

D.M. s. Iulia Firma sita tumulo,
quae commune torum servavit casta mariti,
et fidei plena pietate nobili vixit.
subrepta est oculis iuuenis fato dictante iniquo.
Mocimus Sabinae Augisti sororis lib. tabularius
coiugi bene merenti fecit.

Inscription 555 has *in tumulo, rapta a luce, cum florebat, invida fatorum, parens voluit ante mori*.

Hoc iacet in lapide Aurelia Marcellina pientissima coniux
quem lapis ipse tegit, rapta de luce serena.
huic aetas prima cum florebat in annis
invida fatorum genesis mihi sustulit illam.
superante genetrice sua quae se cupiebat ob illa
ante morti dari, cum sibi flebilis casus
accideret filia que permansit in aevo anguste.
quicumque legis, nostros miserare dolores:
sic aput Elysias sedes per gaudia vivas.

Inscription 1155 has *Parens voluit ante mori, aetas, rapta, terra levis sit*.

Verius hunc titulum matri tu, nata, dicasses
quam mater miserae nunc tibi, nata, facit.
bis senos completam annos te, filia, matri
eripuit miserae mortis iniqua dies.
optestor Manes meritae sanctaeque patronae
et comprecor ut leni terra tegat tumulo.

The following contain five or more common-place topics: 367, 397, 454, 465, 479, 486, 488, 496, 500, 502, 516, 528, 541, 548, 552, 556, 557, 560, 562, 569, 629, 639, 640, 649, 656, 667, 674, 722, 963, 969, 971, 974, 986, 1004, 1005, 1035, 1036, 1054, 1055, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1066, 1067, 1076, 1086, 1091, 1092, 1117, 1119, 1125, 1133, 1138, 1141, 1142, 1161, 1170, 1171, 1191, 1195, 1200, 1208, 1214, 1219, 1232, 1239, 1290, 1305, 1309, 1327, 1339, 1365, 1411, 1425, 1438, 1445, 1523, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1542, 1545, 1549, 1551, 1564, 1568, 1570, 1581, 1583, 1587, 1592, 1603, 1604, 1606, 1614, 1620, and 1814.

A number of compositions, which are shorter than those considered above, consist of but two or three stock expressions or topics;¹ e.g., No. 70 contains only *vita*:

Honestam vitam vixit pius et splendidus
ut sibi quisque exoptet se honeste vivere.

¹ The inscriptions so formed belong to the class which we considered as conventional in the first chapter of this discussion.

No. 125 expresses regret at death, *merenti*, *hic situs est*, and *terra levis sit*.

Tu qui praeteriens spectas monumentum meum
aspice indignans hic data morti
Ti Claudi Aug. liberti adiutoris tabulari a rationibus
Cannutia T. coniugi bene merenti fecit
hic situs est. sit tibi terra levis.

No. 134 contains the phrases *vita*, *vixit sine lite*, *voluit bene legenti*.

C. Gargilius Haemon Proculi Philagri divi Aug. l.
Agrippiani fili paedagogus, idem libertus
pius et sanctus vixi quam diu potui
sine lite, sine rixa, sine controversia, sine aere alieno,
amicis fidem bonam praestiti,
peculio pauper, animo divitissimus.
bene valeat is qui hoc titulum perlegit meum.

There are not a few compositions which consist of but one common-place; e. g.,

- 164 Quod par parenti fuerat facere filium
mors immatura facit ut faceret pater.
1452 Dic rogo qui transis: sit tibi terra levis.
1470 Te, terra, optestor, leviter super ossa quiescas
et tenerae aetati ne gravis esse velis.
1479 Si non fatorum praepostera iura fuissent
mater in hoc titulo debuit ante legi.

There are a number of inscriptions which appear to have been made by the composers putting together a number of the common-places without any regard for similarity of sentiment or a desire to obtain a finished product. Sometimes an original idea of the writer is added or a quotation from the poets. No. 476 affords a good example of this class.

Huc sita est Paterna post annos VIII et XX,
sanctae casta fide, post pignora certa:¹
gnatum memoriae statuit haec prima cubili.
coniugis obsequio meruit in munere functae sepulcrum
dignum pro meritis a coniuge amantem.
perciperet titulum suo nomine testans.
me Germana creat tellus myseram quem nunc hic Fabia terra tegit.
nunc rogo, si colitis Manes, cuncti meo nomine tantum
terra leve opletis.

- 627 Vrsi tumulum cernis quicumq. viator,
quem iuuenem rapuit sors ultima, perlege queso.
qui vixit quinquaginta in annis
heu misera Alexandria geruit decepta marito.
qui est putita dulcem coniugem viginti et sex annos et nemo reventos.
alios mone: vita brevis est,
cunctis fila parant et Parce nec parceretur ullis.
hunc illi dimisit duo anxia natos.

¹ See Ovid *Met.* ii. 91.

condicio talis omnem complectitur urbem.
 sed meritum et benefacta adiutant laborq. fidesq.
 hec ne libertum dominis fecere probatum,
 hec ne defendunt semper sociantq. beatis.
 si par esse belis, similem mihi suscipe curam.

Also see Inscriptions 1608, 1609.

On account of the length of this chapter it will not be possible to consider in full the longer compositions which contain a number of stock topics. Even those which show considerable poetical ability often contain as many as five more. For example, see Inscription 963. This composition which shows no little efficiency of the writer contains reference to envy, the age of the deceased, the phrase *pro meritis*, and the request that those left shall not weep. Inscription 995, which is of the same character, contains six common-place expressions: namely, l. 4 in tomb, ll. 5 and 6 character, l. 7 age, l. 8 envy of fate, and l. 11 traveler asked to say, *Sit tibi terra levis*.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION OF THE ROMANS AS SHOWN BY REFERENCES TO THE GODS AND TO FATE

This chapter will treat of the religious belief of the Romans as seen in the metrical inscriptions. We shall first discuss the references to definite gods, then instances where the gods in general are mentioned as exercising supervision, no specific deity being named, and last the belief in the Fates or Fortune as guiding factors in the life of man.

I. REFERENCES TO PARTICULAR DEITIES BY NAME

From the large list of gods worshiped by the Romans it is rather remarkable to note that only twenty are mentioned by name in the metrical inscriptions. These are Jupiter, Juno Lucina, Mars, Phoebus or Apollo, Pallas or Minerva, Venus, Bacchus or Pater Liber, the Muses, Nymphs, Cupid, Hercules, Ceres, Cybele, Penates, Lares, Mater Terra, Proserpine, Dis or Pluto, and the Di Manes. With the exception of the Di Manes and Terra Mater it seems that the deity is named in the majority of cases primarily for poetical effect, as the references give but little indication of a sincere belief. There are but few instances where it is evident that a particular deity was regarded as interested in the welfare of an individual. When the writer did conceive of a Supreme power which supervised human affairs he spoke of this either as the gods collectively, *dei*, or as the Fates or Fortune.

First let us look at the inscriptions in which the deities are mentioned by name.

Jupiter.—This deity, who was regarded by the Romans as supreme over all the other gods, the god of the sky and of light and of darkness, and the fatherly ruler of mankind, is named in but six inscriptions. Two of these, Nos. 8 and 191, are for men who were *flamines Diales*. Nothing is given regarding the cult in either. In Inscription 1238. 10 there is indication of the existence of a cult of Jupiter in Nucidia.

Seu Cirtae Nomados seu Iovis aura petens.

One composer seems to think of him in his function as guiding the affairs of man. See

429. 7 Filius est nobeis natus, quem Iuppiter altus¹
diligat et natos iubeat generare futuros.

¹ For "Iuppiter altus" cf. Ovid *Ars.* ii. 36 and Vergil *Aen.* xii. 140.

Only in Inscription 1530B do we have Jupiter in his function as ruler of the sky.

Ibis in optas sedes, nam Iuppiter aethram
pandit, Feste, tibi candidum ut venias.

Inscription 911 which is numbered among the Christian inscriptions is of interest. The writer probably confused the Roman Jupiter with the God of the Christians.

911. 3 Quae medio pelagi votum miserabile fecit
reddere funerea dona nefanda Iovi.

Juno.—Considering the fact that a large number of the compositions are for women, one would naturally expect that their patron goddess would receive particular attention. Such, however, is not the case. There are but two references to her. In Inscription 220 Juno coincides with the genius of a man.

Genitor Iunonem dedicat.

In 1551G Juno is named as queen of the lower world instead of Proserpine.

Iunonis sedes infernae cernitis cuncti,
nomine mutato fulget Pomptilla per aevom.

Lucina the goddess of birth, who was associated with the cult of Juno under the name of Juno Lucina, is twice named.

387. 6 Rapta meis fatis, superi sic namque iubebant,
nulla penetrali Lucinae sacra petenti.

436. 9 Cum primum Lucina daret lucemque animamque.

Mars.—Mars was esteemed in the religious worship next to Jupiter. He was the chief protecting god of the Roman state, the sender of rain, and the giver of fertility as well as the god of war. In spite of his importance he is named but twice by the writers of the metrical inscriptions and in each of these cases the name is only synonymous with *bellum*.

472. 2 Hic situs est iuvenis primo qui flore iuventae
impavidus Martis dumque audens iret in hostis.

1616. 7 Na Martis fabricata manu constat.

Apollo or Phoebus.—This deity is given his Roman name Apollo in two inscriptions and his Greek title Phoebus in three. When any attribute is assigned him, it is that derived from the conception of the deity as god of light. Four of the five references to him are found in inscriptions which contain much of a figurative character and are very probably only for poetical effect.

In the two following inscriptions he is called by his Greek name and connected with light.

1389. 5 Phoebus nepe nitens merito producitur ortu
si prouus claro clausurit orbe diem.

1066. 3 Quattuor huic cursus Phoebus fata negarunt.

Inscription 1109 is of a highly figurative character. Several deities, which it is likely the deceased will become, are named apparently for poetical effect. Apollo is one of these.

1109. 38 Pascere si crinem et lauro redimere manumque
arcum cum pharetra sumere, Phoebus eris.

In 1590 the reference to Apollo is more than likely for poetical effect. In this the one for whom the inscription is written is compared to Apollo on account of his beauty.

Ut primum adoleuit pollens viribus, decora facie
Cupidinis os habitumque gerens
nec metum dicere: Apollineus.

Apollo is named only on one occasion in an inscription which is devoid of poetical embellishment and indicates the existence of a cult of that deity. See 411. 2.

Adlectus scaenae paritus Apollinis idem.

Minerva or Pallas.—The Roman name Minerva is used once in the inscriptions, the Greek name Pallas four times, and once attention is called to the goddess as the sister of Phoebus. As in the case of Apollo, the references to her are for the most part found in compositions of a poetical character. She is identified with art in the four following inscriptions. In these the name Pallas is used.

995. 6 Quam Pallas cunctis artibus erudiit.¹

1109. 33 Seu grege Pieridum gaudes, seu Palladis arte.

1253. 2 Pallados inuentum medicinaleque laborem.

1552A. 28 Graecia cum pueris, Hispania Pallados usu.

In Inscription 544 the name of the goddess is not given. She is referred to as the sister of Phoebus and is regarded as angry at the youth because he surpassed her in learning.

544A. 5 Cuius et ipsa soror Phoebi visu furiata
non tenuit pharetram livens dea, cuius ab ore
blanda fluunt mella et rubor in facie rosa fulget.

As stated above, the name of Minerva is found in but one inscription. This is in connection with a *calathus Minervae* and is of little value so far as concerns her cult.

471. 8 Haec frugi pia docta colo calathusque Minervae.

¹ Cf. Kaibel 473. 3 ff.: *ὅστέα δὲ ἱερὰ σείο περικλυτὸς ἀμφιβέβηκεν*
Φοῖβος ἐπ' ἡθεοῖς τεῖμα πάντα νέμων,
ὅφρ' ἑταῖρ' ἄκλιντος μὲν γούνης περίβωτος Ἀμώκλης.

Venus.—The name of Venus, the goddess of love and beauty, is to be found in six inscriptions. In two of these, 1318 and 1499, her name is synonymous with sexual love.

1318. 3 Balnia, vina Venus mecum senuere per annos.
 1499 Balnea vina Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra,
 sed vitam faciunt balnea vina Venus.

In two, 995 and 1307, she is regarded as having contributed toward the beauty of those for whom the compositions were written in the same manner as we noticed in the foregoing inscriptions, that Pallas endowed the deceased while alive with her arts.

995. 5 Cui formam Paphie, Charites tribuere decorem.
 1307. 1 Dulce istic nomen Glype iacet, omnibus olim
 quas Venus inspexit praeferenda bonis.

In Inscription 1109 Venus is regarded as reigning in heaven.¹

Nam me sancta Venus sedes non nosse silentum
 iussit et in caeli lucida templa tulit.

In Inscription 1301 there is the only reference which in all probability shows true belief in the goddess.

Ingratae Veneri spondebam munera supplex
 crepta coniunx virginitate tibi.

Pater Liber or Bacchus.—The god of wine is named in fifteen inscriptions. In the majority of instances he is given the name Bacchus. He is also referred to under the names Pater Liber, Bromius, and Lyaeus.

In seven inscriptions the name of the god is used metaphorically for wine.

- 190 Adeste amici, fruamur tempus bonum
 epulemur laeti, vita dum parva manet,
 Baccho madentes, hilaris sit concordia.
 439. 3 Reddat et autumnus Bacchi tibi munera semper.

Also see 492. 18, 495. 4, 856. 12, 1256. 5, and 1552. 51.

Where Bacchus is regarded as a god nothing is stated regarding his cult except that the deceased held some position in his service, as in 211 a *famula*, 111, 547, and 511 *sacerdotes*, and 654 an *arcibuculus*. There is nothing added which would give further information concerning the attributes of the god or the estimation in which he was held; e. g.,

- 547 Hic iacet Ogyii Bacchi dei nota sacerdos
 pastophorusquae deae Nilotidis usque pudica
 nomine Alexandria.

¹ We noted in the reference to Apollo in this inscription that it was for poetical effect. It is more than probable that this allusion to Venus is for the same purpose.

Three times Bacchus appears to be mentioned for poetical effect. In Inscription 1109, ll. 35 and 36, he is named as one of the gods which the deceased might become:¹

Si libeat thyrsum gravidis aptare corymbis
et velare comam palmitē, Liber eris.

1181. 6 Ne patiare tumulis increscere silvas
sic tibi dona Ceres larga det et Bromius.

1233. 17 Nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystidis [ad se]
florigero in prato congregi in Satyrum
sive canistriferae poscunt sibi Naides aequē
qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas.

Muses, graces, and nymphs.—The names of these deities are employed almost entirely for the purpose of embellishment. Allusions to them are found in inscriptions that are of a poetical character and are influenced by the popular Roman poets.

The Greek name Muses is found seven times and the Roman Camenae once. We have seen in the compositions considered in connection with Pallas and Venus that these deities contributed toward the endowments of the deceased. In the same manner the Muses were regarded in three instances as aiding in the education of those for whom the compositions were written.

55. 9 Docta, erodita paene Musarum manu.

422. 9 Musae mihi dederant facundus ut essem.

Thalia alone of the Muses is named in 501. 4:

Quem docta studiis ornat diva Thalia.

The thought of the Graces and Muses contributing is found in Greek inscriptions as well. Cf. Kaibel 692:

Μηρόφιλον τάφος οὗτος ἔχει πολυπενθέα παῖδα
ὃν Χαρίτων τρισσῶν πανεπήρατον εἶδος ἔχοντα
αἰνοτάκων γονέων φθόνος ἤρπασεν, ὃν καθορᾶτε
ὀκτὼ μόνοις ἔτεσιν Βεβιωκότα μῆσὶ τε πέντε.

Kaibel 474. 5:

ἄρρενι δ' ἡμέψ παιδείην ὤπασε Μοῦσα.

Rather pretty allusions to the Muses are found in the following:

Buech. 453 Non gravis hic textit tumulus te, Punica virgo,
Musarum amor et Charitum, Erasina, Voluptas.

219 Hoc hoc sepulcrum respice
qui carmen et Musas amas.

481 Blaesianus Biturix, Musarum semper amator.

¹ We noted in discussing this composition in connection with the references to Apollo that that deity was named as well as one whom the deceased might become.

In No. 1237 Thalia alone is named. The composition follows the style of lyric poetry.

Detrahe sarta comis et amorum oblita tuorum
tristis inops curta veste, Thalia, veni:
non manus Idalia lascivit improba virga
nec fluat ante tuos lucida palla pedes.

On one occasion the Camenae weep because the deceased has been taken.

606 Ut te, Palladi, raptum flevire Camenae
fleverunt populi quos continet Ostia dia.

Cf. Kaibel 538. 3:

Μοῦσαι δέ σε τὸ πρὶν ἐν ἡμεῖν
τέρπουσαι νυνὲ θρηνολογοῦσι, τάλαν.

The metrical inscriptions contain two references to the Nymphs.

467. 5 Ia tibi Cybeles sint et rosa grata Diones
et flores grati Nymphis et lilia sarta.

1254. 5 Parebat nemo, Fauni Nymphaeque sonabant
laetitia divom sensit et ipse locus.

Cupid and Hercules.—Cupid and Hercules like the Nymphs and Graces are named in order to give a more poetical effect to the composition. There are three references to Cupid and one to Hercules. In two instances the personal appearance of the one for whom the inscription is written is compared to the beauty of the former deity.

1061. 7 Quae speciem voltus habuitq. Cupidinis artus.

1590 Ut primum adolevit pollens viribus decora facie
Cupidinis os habitumque gerens.

Once Cupid mourns over the death of the girl who is the subject of the inscription.

1517. 1 Ereptam volucrem Cupido luget.

In 1233 is a reference to Hercules.

Si dolor infractum potuit convellere pectus
Herculinum, cur me flere tamen pigeat?

Ceres.—But one inscription, 111. 29, which is for a priest and his wife, indicates a belief in this deity as the goddess of agriculture.

Cererisque Graiae tu sacris dignam paras.

The metrical inscriptions contain two other references to Ceres. In these she is considered as bestowing blessings. The references are probably for poetical effect and do not indicate a true belief in the goddess.

1058. 9 Si quis forte mea gaudet de morte iniqua
huic sit iniqua Ceres perficiatque fama.

1181. 7 Sic tibi dona Ceres larga det et Bromius.

U of M

Cybele.—As in the case of Ceres one reference to Cybele, 1110. 10, shows belief in the goddess and two, 467 and 1109. 40, are only for poetical effect.

1110. 1 Qui colitis Cybelen et qui Phrygas plangitis Attin.
 467. 5 Iam tibi Cybeles sint et rosa grata Diones.
 1109. 40 Indueris teretis manicas, Phrygium decus, Attis
 non unus Cybeles pectore vivet amor.

Penates.—The Penates were regarded as gods of the household and with Vesta presided over the hearth. They were closely associated to the worship of every Roman and one would naturally expect that in compositions which are the exponent of the thought of the common people numerous allusions to these divinities would be found. It is rather surprising to note, however, that they contain but four references to these deities. In the two following references they are associated with the home.

- 471 (Hi laetam coluere domum) hilaesque penates.
 1552. 60 Adsidue patrias hinc cernere dulciter arces
 quosque dedit natis prope semper habere penates.

It is probable that the writers themselves did not always have a clear idea of the function of the Penates, as we see in 1168 the Penates are responsible for death. The writer evidently confused them with the Fates.

Quid superos potuit iuuenis laesisse Penates
 quod tumulo Iopes ossa sepulta latent?

In 1550B. 17 they are named in place of the Manes as gods of the lower world.

Sic anima exoritur tumulo visura penates
 et quos morte mea fugerat ipsa rogos.

Lares.—Among the early Romans the Lares were supposed to have been spirits of productiveness upon whose guardianship depended the welfare of the household. Later the idea of productiveness disappeared but they still retained the function of tutelary spirits and upon their protection to a large extent depended the happiness and prosperity of the home. They were almost equal to the Penates in importance of worship and, as occurs with them, we would expect that the Lares would be mentioned to a considerable extent by the authors of the metrical inscriptions. Such, however, is not the case. There are but nine references to the Lares and only two of these connect them with the household. See

1339. 1 Perpetuas sine fine domos mors incolat atra
 aeternosque levis possidet umbra lares.
 498. 3 Post annos veniens visum Laris arva paterni.

From the association of the deities with the house the term Lares or Lar was often employed by writers of the first century B. C. as a synonym for house.¹ Three examples of this are found in the *Carmina*.

¹See Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer*, p. 150.

442. 4 Quem genuit genetrix secum tenet in lare Ditis.
 1057. 10 Funditus ut traherent invida fata larem.
 1394. 2¹ Exubias proceres moenia casta lares
 quaeque patrum virtus et quae congesserat ipse
 Ceadual armnipotens liquit amore dei.

From the use of Lares or Lar to mean home the word is further extended to signify home in a metaphorical or figurative sense. In Inscription 492 the husband states that his wife was a Lar to him.

492. 13 Lar mihi haec quondam, haec spes, haec unica vita.

Also see

1169. 7 Cum Laribus nostris rapuit nimis invida Clotho.
 1429. 6 Creveruntque mei te moderante lares.¹

One instance has been noticed in connection with the Penates, 1550B. 17, where they were named in place of the Manes. The same thing occurs once in regard to the Lares. In Inscription 1160 they appear to be confused with the Manes and considered as deities of the lower world.

Felix haec visa est nascendi lege puella,
 quot non est miseros tum sortita lares.

Mater Terra.—The numerous times that Mater Terra is named in the compositions we are considering give considerable evidence of belief in that goddess. She is in no instance regarded in her function as presiding over the sown and planted seed, but only as receiving the body of the deceased which is intrusted to her. She was considered the parent of all plant life and accordingly the Roman thought of her as the parent of man. She brought him forth and at death received him back again to her embrace. See Cicero *De leg.* ii. 63:

Nam haec a sapientissimis legum scriptoribus neglecta sunt: Nam et Athenis ab illo primo rege Cecrope ut aiunt permansit hoc ius terra humandi, quam quod proximi fecerant obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur ut sinus et gremium quasi matres mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur.

See also Cicero *Tusc.* iii. 25. 59: Reddenda terra est terra, tum vita omnibus metenda, ut fruges. Sic iubet Necessitas. This thought is common as well among the composers of Greek inscriptions. See Kaibel

75. 2 ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα.
 156. 1 Γαῖα μὲν εἰς φάος ἦρε, Σιβύρτιε, γαῖα δὲ κεύθει
 σῶμα, πνοὴν δ' αἰθὴρ ἔλαβεν πάλιν, ὅσπερ ἔδωκεν.
 288. 3 . . . τὸ δὲ σῶμα καλύπτει
 γαῖα, λαβοῦσα γέρας τοῦθ' ὃ δέδωκε πάλαι.

¹ It is interesting to note that these references to the Lares are found in Christian inscriptions.

438. 1 . . . Πάντα χθὼν φύει καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἀμφικαλύπτει.
A. P. vii. 371 Γῆ μοι καὶ μήτηρ κυκλήσκειτο γῆ με καλύπτει.

Also Theog. 878:

ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι.

Eurip. Frag. 757, Nauck:

ἂ γοῦν παραινῶ, ταῦτα μου δέξαι, γύναι
ἔφν μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν,
θάπτει τε τέκνα χᾶτερα κτᾶται, νέα,
αὐτός τε θνήσκει καὶ τὰδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ
εἰς γῆν θέροντες γῆν.

In the following of the metrical inscriptions earth is regarded as a mother receiving back the body which she gave forth.

809 Mater genuit, materque recepit.

1129 Quae genuit Tellus, ossa tegit tumulo.

1476. 2 Terra mater rerum quod dedit ipse tegat.

Inscriptions 192, 477, 1245, and 1327 contain similar thoughts, although the personification of the earth is not as apparent.

Frequently the idea of earth as giving birth is omitted and she is only considered as receiving back the body.

89 Amica Tellus ut det hospitium ossibus.

1135. 3 Pondere subiecto Thetidis componimur ossa
grata magis Terrae quam tibi, dure lapis.

Also see 67. 5, 1066, 1108, 1133. 2, 1168. 6, 1239. 5, 1544, 1559, 1579, and 1613. 11.

In some cases the personification of earth is made more real by addressing her.

1039 Terra parens, tibi Fortunatae commissimus ossa.

1043. 3 Te Tellus, sanctosque precor pro coniugis Manes,
vos ite placidi, tu levis ossa tegas.

1029 Tellus, huic tumulo ne gravis esse velis.

Also 1043, 1047, 1121, 1138, 1153, 1313, and 1315.¹

A rather ingenious argument sometimes expressed is that, as the earth is a goddess and the deceased is in the earth, he is not dead but is deified.

Cf. 974:

Cinis sim, cinis terra est, terra dea est, ergo ego mortua non sum.

Also 1532 contains the same idea.

Twice earth instead of the gods or Fate is regarded as responsible for death. See 674. 12:

Nam caelo est natus quem tellus invida condit.

¹ A number of these examples have been considered in connection with the common-place expression *Sit tibi terra levis*, chap. ii, p. 28.

That there was doubt regarding the existence of this goddess is seen by the statement in 1028. 5:

Opto si qua fides remanet Telluris amicae
sit tibi perpetua terra levis tumulo.

There are numerous references to *terra*, *tellus*, and *humus* where there is no attempt at personification. The most important of these have been considered in connection with the common-place statements in the preceding chapter.

Deities of the lower world.—It is but natural that inscriptions which are for those who have left life on earth should abound in references to the deities that preside over the region which is peopled by the deceased. Consequently frequent mention is found in these compositions to Dis or Pluto the ruler of the lower world, Proserpine, the queen, and the Di Manes, the gods of departed spirits.

Dis or Pluto.—In many cases it seems quite clear that the writer employed the terms Dis or Pluto as a substitute for death personified as the power snatching one from life. See

80 Acervam Ditis rapuit infantem domus.
1034 Me potius rapuissent Ditis avari.
1066. 8 Heu Ditis foeda rapina feri.

Also see 971. 8, 1219. 2, 1223. 6, and 1534B. 3.

Cf. Kaibel 575a:

*Ἀγγελε, Φερσεθόνης, Ἑρμῇ, τίνα τόνδε προπονπεῖς
εἰς τὸν ἀμείδιτον Τάρταρον Ἰίδεω.

1014. 3 Spe frustra gavis, Nothi, quem prima ferentem
aetatis Pluton invidus eripuit.

1058. 6 At saevos Pluto rapuit me ad inferna templa.

Also 474. 7.

Not only is Dis conceived of as taking one from the earth, but in a number of instances he is the ruler who has power over the unknown place to which the departed spirit has gone. Occasionally his name is employed as synonymous for the place of departed spirits, which is variously designated as Dis, the home of Dis, Tartarus, or the Stygian regions.¹ See

55. 19 Tenebris tenentur Ditis aeterna domu.
136 Aeternam ad Ditem vivos effecit domum.
960. 7 Nunc data sum Diti longum mansura per aeuum.
1534B. 3 Abreptam aetate in inferi Ditis specus.

Also² 393, 395, 442, 474, 501, 513, 581, 1117, 1148, 1178, 1828, 1829, 1551, 1552. 55.

¹ See chap. v, p. 105, "Life after Death."

² These references will be considered more in detail in chap. v in connection with the belief in life after death.

Inscription 1550 is worthy of note. The Stygian ruler is addressed in a prayer and asked that he receive the deceased kindly in Elysium.

- Ll. 5 ff. Infelix Stygio volt vitam dedere regi
adiacet et tumulis talia saepe querens:
"Saeve precor, ne fata neges. quin me quoque sede
excipis Elysia? maxima poena placet?"

Two inscriptions show that there was a feeling of doubt regarding the ruler of the world of departed spirits.

- 540 [Si Manes] et Iovis Stygius a[liquid sapiunt.]
581 Manes et superi, si quo vos carmine possunt
ac Plutonis adire domos.

Proserpine or Persephone.—This goddess, who was regarded as the queen of the lower world and the wife of Dis or Pluto, is sometimes conceived of as the power determining the end of life and taking one away.

527. 2 Qui fine annorum sacra Proserpine dedit.
1128. 5 Cur modo tam praeceps, iterum tam sera fuisti
funeris amborum, dic, rea Proserpine.
1161. 3 Annus erat vitae primus, mox deinde secundi
liminibus rapuit me sibi Persephone.
1301. 3 Persephone votis invidit pallida nostris
et praemature funaere te rapuit.

Inscription 492 which contains a prayer by a husband for his wife to the queen of great Dis is of interest. He asks that Proserpine permit his wife to remain in Elysium with her hair crowned with flowers and her brow with myrtle. The composition abounds in figurative expressions, but the sincerity of tone leads one to conjecture that the writer had some belief in the goddess. See

- Ll. 3 f. Regina Ditis magni regis, precor hoc te
nam meruit haec multa suis pro laudibus a me—
Ll. 11 f. Hanc precor Elysiis iubeas consistere campis
et myrta redimere comas et tempora flore.

Inscription 393 possibly indicates a belief in Persephone.

- Ll. 3 f. Elysios precor ut possis invadere campos
matronamque colas Ditis Ditemque preceris.

In one composition the kingdom of Persephone is named as the place for departed spirits.¹

- 422 Non dum Persephones sperebam visere regna.

Di Manes.—The Di Manes, gods of the world of departed spirits, or the deified souls of the departed are named over 125 times in the metrical inscriptions. In contrast to the deities considered previously the references

¹ Verg. *Aen.* viii. 157, and Horace *Carm.* ii. 13. 21.

to them do not appear to be for poetical effect but in the majority of instances give evidence of a true belief in the Manes cult.

The Manes are considered under different phases. Many references show the existence of a distinct cult of the Manes as deities of the world of departed spirits or deified souls of the departed. See

106 Manes colamus, namque opertis Manibus
divina vis est aeviterni temporis.

215 Per haec sepulchra perque quos colis Manes
his parce tumulis ingredi pedem saepe.

See also 376. 3 ff., 383. 9, 395. 1 ff., 492. 8, 592. 1, 611. 1, 837. 1, 972. 8, 1029. 5, 1196. 13, 1223. 13, 1269. 3, 1290. 8, 1329. 5, 559, 593, 594, 970, 1184, 1112, 1155, 1467, 1468, 1497, 1586, and 1604.

The last mentioned of these is of especial interest. In this the Manes appear to be placed on a par with the gods of the upper world.

L. 21 Cuius admissi vel Manes vel di caelestes erunt vindices.

Frequently the Manes are addressed in the form of a prayer.

1036. 7 Di Manes, me unam retinete, ut vivere possint
quos semper colui viva libente animo,
ut sint qui cineres nostros bene floribus sertis
saepe orment. dicat: sit mihi terra levis.

1117 Vos precor, o Manes, sit mihi terra levis.

From the use of the word "Manes" to signify deities of the lower world came the use of the word to signify the land of departed spirits or the lower world.¹ See

513. 10 Ad manes . . . in terra.

1292 Dulcis apud Manes Zoe benedicta moraris.

Also 1318. 5 and 1324. 2.

A similar use of "Manes" is found among the Christian inscriptions. Cf. 702. 7:

Ad Manes gaudent quaesisse maritum.

A few compositions state that the spirit of the deceased has not gone below to the Manes but has risen to the sky. See

569. 6 Non tamen ad Manes sed caeli ad sidera pergis.

1535. 7 Set non hic Manes nec templa Acherusia visit,
ad caeli quoniam tollitur iste Pius.

As we noticed concerning Dis Pater and Proserpine, the Manes are occasionally regarded as death in its capacity of taking one from this life. There are five inscriptions in which the Manes are so considered.

¹ See Verg. *Georg.* i. 243: Manes profundi; *Aen.* iv. 387: Haec Manes veniet mihi fama sub imos; Juvenal ii. 149: Esse aliquos Manes et subterranea regna; Horace *Carm.* i. 4. 16.

552. 11 Corpus mors rapuit, animam derelinquite Manes.
 1034. 3 Me potius Manes rapuissent Ditis avari.

Also 1164. 1, 1224. 3, and 1572. 2.

In 1273 Manes is an actual synonym for death.

Haec tamen ad Manes pertinet una domus.

From the idea of the Manes as deified spirits of the departed and dwelling in the tomb arose the custom of dedicating the tomb to them.¹

- 141 Dis Manibus sacrum.
 517. 2 Hunc tumulum vobis, Manes, monimenta sacra
 obsequium mei Victorinus vovi doloris.
 1280. 6 Sacravitque deis Manibus hunc cinerem.

Also 579. 1, 1009. 2, 1195. 7, and 1255. 7.

In Inscription 197 the Manes are asked to take care of the ashes of the deceased.

Ita levis incumbat terra defuncto tibi
 vel assint quieti cineribus Manes tuis
 rogo ne sepulcri umbras violare audeas.

From the association of the Manes with the tomb the word Manes came to be used as a synonym for *tumulus* in three compositions.

- 641 Rupe cava manes feci nunc coniugi Paulle.
 1139 Ornasti et manes lacrimis, miserabilis uxor,
 haud optare alias fas erat inferias.
 1302. 5 Hunc tumulum, socios manes, commune sepulcrum.

In the following references the feeling that the Manes are deities of the world of departed spirits is not as evident as in the examples given on p. 63. In these they are conceived of as the ghost or spirit of the departed and the feeling of deification appears to be almost entirely lost sight of. See

467. 8 Et manes placida tibi nocte quiescant.
 588. 8 Iam securi suo gaudite munere Manes
 Elysios per campos et dulcia prata vagantes.
 1243. 5 Manibus autem obitus haec sunt solacia, quod tres
 sic cineres nati composuere suos.
 1551. 3 Hic sita sum manibus gratis sacrata mariti.

Also 473. 10, 859, 1043. 3, and 1198. 11.

In two Christian inscriptions "manes" is equivalent to spirit.

- 653 Sanctique tui manes nobis petentibus adsint.
 682. 11 Sic medicatur amor nec curant carmina manes.²

¹ From the dedication of the tomb to the Manes arose the very common-place expression, *Sacrum dis Manibus*, or more frequently the abbreviated form *S. D. M.* This is employed so commonly that we even see it in Christian inscriptions, which goes to prove that very probably it was only used as a form without any regard to its original significance.

² See Verg. *Aen.* iv. 34: Id cinerem aut Manes credis curare sepultos?

Some inscriptions show that there was a feeling of doubt whether the Manes really existed or were influenced by the prayers of those on earth. These expressions of scepticism afford evidence that the Manes must have been believed in. See

132 Precor, si qui estis Manes, ut Trebilliae
sit suaviter.

428. 14 Si sapiunt aliquod post funera Manes
Antoni et Proculi molliter ossa cubent.

1057. 15 Si sunt di Manes, iam nati numen habetis.

Also see 475, 502, 542, 581, 1027, 1147, 1190, 1200, 1251, 1323, and 1328.

A few unique expressions regarding the Manes are worthy of notice.

In Inscription 1143 Manes descend to mother instead of mother to Manes:
Molliter ad matrem placidi descendite manes.

In Inscription 1159 Manes are equivalent to the body:

Uimmidiae manes tumulus tegit;

while in Inscription 1485 Manes are regarded the same as destiny:

Si fortuna suos potuisset flectere manes.

II. THE GODS IN GENERAL REGARDED AS GUIDING THE AFFAIRS OF MANKIND

Although, as has been shown, the references to particular deities demonstrate that in the majority of instances it is evident that the deity is named primarily for poetical effect, and if the average Roman believed in the existence and guiding interest of such deities as Jupiter, Mars, Juno, Minerva, or Apollo, he did not regard it of enough consequence to mention the fact, nevertheless one cannot assert that he had no belief in a supreme power which guided his life and was responsible for his death. This supreme power is commonly designated as the gods, *dei*, or as Fate or Fortune. We shall first consider the references to the gods.

1. Instances where the gods are named in general without reference to particular deities which indicate that a large number believed in their supervision and worshiped them.

111. 15 Diumque numen multiplex doctus colis.

199 Illi deos iratos quos omnis colunt
si quis de eo sepulcro quid violaverit.

525 Profuit en tibi quot fana coluisti deorum.

Also 402. 2, 435, 596. 2, 995. 24, and 1058. 5.

No. 1059 refers to the gods below.

Maestus uterque parens postquam miserabile funus
fecit, inferis munera summa dedit.

No. 1116. 5 contains a prayer to the gods.

Di meliora precor pro nostro munera casu
sentiat et plures possint habere suos.¹

Also 1184. 12, 1216. 9, 1254. 6, 1317, 1326, 1514, 1534, 1549, 1551, 1552, and 1586 indicate a belief in the gods.

The following Christian inscriptions are of interest on account of the similarity of tone to the pagan. It is evident that the writers adopted forms of expression current in pagan life.

1409. 7 Sed breve tempus habet munus quodcumque deorum.
1345. 1 Appias hoc tegitur superis invisa sepulcro.
1443B. 2 Hic iacet, hoc superis placitum est.
1561 Complevit tua vota deus.

In some allusions to the gods it is difficult to decide whether the writer really had a sincere belief in them or whether they are named simply for effect. See

- 130 Id illi di faciant semper vivo et mortuo.
856. 3 Sic et aput superos annis quibus fata dedere
animulam colui, nec defuit umquam Lyaeus.

Also 476. 9, 579. 4, 995B. 17, and 1110. 9.

The tone of 1552 is especially sacrilegious. The writer in speaking of the cock says, B, ll. 15 and 16:

Cuius si membris vocem natura dedisset
cogeret hic omnes surgere mane deos.

Also in Inscriptions 602, 1114, 1212, and 1458 it is difficult to decide whether the writers had a genuine belief in the gods.

2. The gods are not only associated with the everyday life but in many instances they are distinctly conceived of as responsible for death.² See

54. 3 Nescio qui invidit deus.

In No. 387. 6 both gods and Fate are regarded as responsible for death:

- Rapta meis fatis, superi sic namque iuebant.
417. 5 Sed sanctus deus hic felicius illa
transtulit in melius.³

Also 473. 4, 1057, 1060. 5, 1184. 8, 1305. 5, 1309. 5, 1310. 1, and 1592. 3.

1305. 5 Et sic me miseram destituere dei.

¹ Cf. Verg. *Georg.* iii. 513: Di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum!

² Cf. Cicero *Ep. ad fam.* v. 16. 4: Qui mihi non a dis immortalibus ereptus ex his miseriis. Cf. p. 34.

³ Cf. Ovid *Tr.* iv. 4. 81:

Laeta deae signum crudelia sacra perosae
transtulit ex illis in meliora locis.

In No. 603 but one god is responsible for death:

Iam summus fragilem vitam deus abstulit illi
aetherisque auris animam lux alma recepit.

From the thought that the gods take one from this life arose very likely the idea of the deceased as having gone to the gods and living with them. See Inscriptions 418, 1186, 1198, 1216, 1257, 1277, and 1288.¹

A few compositions show that there was a feeling of uncertainty concerning the existence of the gods, e. g.,

- 816 Dii, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet
persolvat dignis grates et praemia reddat.²
1031 Si qua manent oblitis vitae sine fraude peractae
praemia sub terris, haec Amaryllis habet.

rites and customs that give evidence of belief in the gods

Belief in the gods is further proven by frequent references to prayers, vows, and rites. The word *votum* or the plural *vota* occurs over sixty times. A few typical examples will suffice to show the regard the average Roman had for prayer. See

- 217 Dea virago Delia
votum faventi numine
quod exigor felix ago.
378 Omne susceptus primo votisque parentum
cum iam bis senos explesset floridus annos.
394 Implesti pia vota.

Also 835, 1060, 1101, 1514. 8, 1549. 16, and 1586. 2.

No. 1257 contains a prayer to the gods above and below to spare brother.

- Ll. 9 ff. Qua propter quod restat, precor,
superos deos atque inferos,
quoniam meae aetati eripuerunt annos,
parcant meo fratri.

No. 1262 has a prayer to the gods below.

- Ll. 5 f. Numina nunc inferna precor, patri date lucos
in quis purpureus perpetuusque dies.

Often the complaint is found that the prayers and vows which were offered for the one for whom the inscription was written were useless.³

649. 10 Nec valere preces, quas funderat anxia curas.⁴

¹ This idea will be treated more extensively in connection with the belief in "Life after Death" in chap. v.

² See Verg. *Aen.* ii. 536: Persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant.

³ Cf. Ovid *Am.* iii. 9. 33: Quid vos sacra iuvant?

⁴ See Verg. *Aen.* xi. 229:

Nil dona neque aurum
nec magnas valuisse preces.

1225. 7 Quos non ille prius, qua non ego voce rogavi,
infelix superos? nec valere preces.¹

Also 386 and 432.

In addition to the allusions to prayers and vows a few references to custom in the worship of the gods are to be observed which give further proof that a belief in the gods existed. In No. 465. 8 the custom of decking the shrines of the gods is referred to.

Comes his qui victima sacris
caedere saepe solent et qui novo tempore veris
floribus intextis refovent simulacra deorum.

Cf. Ovid *Met.* x. 694:

Quo multa sacerdos
ligna contulerat veterum simulacra deorum.

In 525 the question is asked whether it is of any profit that the deceased honored the shrines of the gods.

Profuit en tibi, quot fana coluisti deorum.

No. 502. 5 alludes to the custom of celebrating the Kalends of January.

Cui liqui fletum fato citus raptus iniquo
cum Ianuarias celebrarem forte kalendas.

No. 1300. 5 has reference to soothsayers and astrology.

Hanc potius dicant vates qui sidera dicunt
aetheris, haec curast dignior Anonia.

References to feasts in honor of the dead are found in Inscription 534; to sacred rites paid to the departed in Inscriptions 576, 1036, 1223, and 1237, and to the custom of cutting a lock of hair in 1168. These will be considered in chap. v, in connection with the belief in immortality.

III. FATALISM

Although, as we have shown by the foregoing references, the Romans believed to a considerable extent in the gods, it appears from the larger number of times that Fate or the Fates are named throughout the metrical inscriptions that that power was esteemed by many as superior to the gods. There are 232 references to Fate under the names *Fatum* or *Fata* and 50 to it personified as the Parcae, or Clotho, or Lachesis, while there are less than seventy allusions to the gods which can be considered as showing sincere belief in them.²

¹ A similar thought is contained in *Consol. ad Liv.* 427, Propertius iv. 17. 12, and Horace *Carm.* i. 24. 17.

² In view of the excellent article by Albert G. Harkness on "Roman Scepticism and Fatalism," *Trans. of the American Phil. Association*, 1899, pp. 56 ff., a detailed study of Fatalism will be unnecessary.

1. In seventy-four inscriptions there seems to be but little, if any, attempt to personify Fate. It is simply regarded as destiny, or in some instances as the blind chance which causes the end of life. See

82. 6 Titulum intueri scriptum, quo fato occidi.
 362 Eheu heu Taracei, ut acerbo es deditus fato.
 404. 6 Vivere qui debent, fato moriuntur acerbo.
 1081 Nam fatum nobis omnibus instat idem.

Similar thought regarding Fate in Inscriptions 148, 434. 10, 443. 3, 445. 6, 447. 3, 467. 2, 473. 11, 493. 11, 506. 2, 524. 3, 528. 2, 531. 2, 574. 6, 610. 1, 614. 4, 617. 3, 704. 15, 713. 3, 959. 11, 965. 3, 966. 3, 981. 2, 995. 20, 998. 1, 1001. 2, 1005. 6, 1011. 1, 1021. 1, 1049. 1, 1055. 3, 1067. 2, 1069. 1, 1079. 9, 1119. 3, 1122, 1130, 1137, 1142, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1170, 1171, 1175, 1187, 1218, 1223, 1232, 1278, 1297, 1309, 1384, 1403, 1537, 1543, 1549, 1550, 1568, 1578, 1593, 1597, 1598, and 1611.

Two Christian inscriptions, 652 and 657, contain similar allusions to Fate.

2. Besides considering Fate as destiny or simply lot, as in the above examples, it is often defined as a power similar to the gods which rules over the affairs of man and determines his death. This attempt to deify Fate is found in fifty-four inscriptions. See

96. 7 Scias viator, fata non parcut bonis.
 98. 5 Quam trino annorum filo proterantia
 novem post mensum Fata conficiunt malo.
 459. 2 Incrementa negant eius currentia fata.
 473. 3 His requiesco locis, vitam cui fata negarunt.¹
 474. 8 Quotsi fata eo sinuissent luce videre.²
 495. 10 Set celerat quo nos fata benigna vocant.³
 1005. 10 Sedibus aeternis me mea fata tenent.

In l. 6 of the same inscription Fate is equivalent to destiny.

Advenit fatis terminus ipse meis.

In 1067. 2 Fate is equivalent to destiny; in l. 3 it guides the affairs of life.

Inmatura meo perlege fata loco.
 Zelotos iaceo, vixi diu fata sinebant.

Also see 444, 464. 1, 566, 629. 4, 640, 728, 922. 3, 969, 995, 1066. 3, 1080. 3, 1114. 2, 1117. 6, 1151, 1168, 1183, 1208, 1253, 1257. 4, 1332. 2, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1530, 1552. 54, 1574, and 1614.

¹ Cf. Sil. It. i. 107.

² Cf. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 340:

Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
 auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas.

³ For *fata vocant* cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 147, x. 472, xi. 97 and Ovid *Her.* vi. 28.

In the two following inscriptions the language used in regard to the Fates would especially lead one to think that they were regarded as deities.

- 1169 Fata deum tria, quae retinetis condita vitae
staminis et ductu tempora dividitis
saepe dolenda nimis canitis, crudelia Fata,
et dulcis natos matribus eripitis.
1310 Coniuge derepta meo, dereptaque natis
ei mihi, fatales cur rapuere dei?

3. In the majority of instances where Fate is considered as the guiding power of life and responsible for death, the gods are not named in the same composition. A few inscriptions, however, contain references to both. When this occurs, one does not appear to be given much more importance than the other, but both are regarded as the powers directing human affairs and responsible for death.¹ See

387. 6 Rapta meis fatis, superi sic namque iuebant.
417. 5 Set sanctus deus hic felicius illa
transtulit in melius, sic denique fata tulerunt.
1057. 4 Et puer inmites quem rapuere dei.
10 Funditus ut traherent invida fata larem.
1549. 16 Credebant deis vota placere mea
stamina ruperunt subito tua candida Parcae.

Also see 1058. 3, 1114. 2, 1141. 15, 1253. 4 and 6, and 1257. 4 and 9. In one inscription Fate is regarded as superior to the gods.

- 432 Vota supervacua fletusque et numina diuum
naturae leges fatorumque arguit ordo.

4. The inevitability of Fate and the uselessness to contend against whatever it decrees is a common thought in the metrical inscriptions.² See

- 145 Noli dolere mater, eventum meum.
properavit aetas, hoc dedit Fatum mihi.³
389. 5 Nam nulli fas est votis excedere fata.

¹ The references to particular deities in compositions where Fate is mentioned have not been considered, as these are in all probability for poetical effect.

² Otto Schantz in his dissertation, *De incerti Poetae Consolatione ad Liviam deque Carminum Consolatoriorum apud Graecos Romanosque Historia*, Marburg, 1889, considers the idea of the inevitability of Fate as one of the arguments of consolation which is commonly found among the Greek and Roman writers. He cites the following references: Frg. 1 Solon, vv. 55 and 56, and 63 and 64; Aesch. *Sept.* 263; Aesch. *Choeph.* 910; Soph. *Ant.* 951, *Phaedo*, frg. 560; Eurip. *Hipp.* 1430 and *Heracl.* 608 ff.; also Kaibel 144. 5, 274. 1, 283. 3, 351. 5, 231. 8, 287. 5 and 6, 292. 6, 511. 5, 519. 5 and 6, 333. 5 and 7, and 588. 8; Horace *Carm.* i. 24. 17. See chap. iv, p. 76, of this dissertation.

³ Similar expressions contained in Inscriptions 146, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, and 1542.

501. 7 Pro dolor, ut nulli decreta rumpere fas est
Parcarum divi duosque evadere casus.¹
527. 5 Set si quit fatis religio nulla resistit.
995. 21 Nil prosunt lacrimae nec possunt fata movere.
1279. 6 Invidere meis annis crudelia fata,
fata quibus nequeas opposuisse manus.

Also see 807. 2, 972. 9, 1016, 1057, 1142. 15, 1248, and 1403.

The idea that the Fates² have taken one from this life is found in twenty-seven inscriptions.³ See

92. 7 O Fatum infelicem qui te nobis abstulit.
379. 1 Florentem speciem rapuere novissima fata.
429. 5 Fatorum cursum properans me orbavit ab illo.

Also see 222. 3, 406, 409, 448, 457, 479. 4, 495, 496, 502, 560, 649, 974, 1071, 1138, 1147, 1149, 1165, 1173, 1213, 1305, 1311, 1547, 1565, and 1570.

6. In contrast to the sentiment that Fate has taken one away from life is the one that Fate has granted life. The expression *Fata dederunt* or similar phrases are found in seventeen inscriptions. See Ovid *Met.* vii. 691:

Si vivere nobis
fata diu dederint.

Propertius ii. 1. 17:

Quod mihi si tantum, Maecenas, fata dedissent.

Lucan i. 114:

- Quod si tibi fata dedissent.
377 Bis denos annos Proculine fata dedere.
420. 20 Annum quem vitae finem mihi fata dederunt.
475. 4 Quod si fata mihi dedissent luce videre
iste prius ipsis facerem.

Also see 81. 4 and 145. 2 given above in connection with the inevitability of fate and in addition Inscriptions 490. 6, 516, 544. 3, 842, 856. 3, 1021. 4, 1041, 1058, 1111, 1219, and 1237 which contain similar expressions in regard to fate as contributing either life or death.

7. The thought that the Fates or Fate so willed is found in eight inscriptions.

- 146 Fatus quod voluit meus.
186. 4 Qua fini fata volebant.
1537. 10 Properavit aetas, voluit hoc Fatus meus.

See 529. 2, 544. 14, 1150. 3, and 1581. 1.

¹ Cf. Ovid *Met.* xv. 780:

Qui rumpere quemquam
Ferre non possunt veterum decreta sororum.

² See Verg. *Aen.* ii. 738 and Ovid *Met.* i. 358.

³ We have previously considered this conception of Fate in connection with the common-place expressions in chap. ii, p. 32, of this dissertation.

8. The expression *Fata tollere*¹ is employed in eight inscriptions. See

367. 8 Cum fatum tulerit, una eius mecum condere ossa loco.

417. 6 Set sanctus deus hic felicius illa
transtulit in melius, sic denique fata tulerunt.

See also Inscriptions 420. 13, 422. 8, 555, 982, 1167, and 1409.

9. In three inscriptions the word *fata* signifies life.

622. 3 Haec illi nunc requies fati, haec sedes aeterna.

1159. 4 Supremum fati competiere diem.

1283. 6 Explicuit fatum et tenet hunc tumulum.

10. The words *fatum* or *fata* are occasionally used as synonyms for *mors*.

69. 3 Quoius fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit.

77. 6 Vale et bene facito vitae, dum fatum venit.

1035. 5 Causa latet fati, partum tamen esse loquuntur.

The use of *fata* to mean death is found most commonly in the phrase *post fata*. Cf.

403. 4 Quos male deseruit longo post fata dolori.

518. 2 Reddere quod solum licuit post fata sepulchrum.

710. 6 Simpliciter pietas cari post fata mariti.

Also Inscriptions 729, 1072, 1106, 1424, 1552. 39, and 1611. This expression is also found in Inscriptions 698, 701, and 1357 which are Christian inscriptions.

11. Fate is sometimes looked upon as envying one and consequently taking him from life. This has previously been considered in connection with the common-place expression that envy is the cause of death in chap. ii, p. 38.

PARCAE

The belief in Fate was often rendered more vivid by means of personifying this power as the Parcae. These goddesses are referred to either collectively or in some instances as individuals under the names Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos.

In observing the references to Fate we noticed that it was regarded as the power which guided the affairs of life as well as the agent of death. The Parcae, however, are only considered in a few instances as controlling one's life. Their function is most commonly confined to determining the end of life.

¹ See Verg. *Ecl.* v. 34: Postquam te fata tulerunt.

Ovid *Tr.* i. 3. 101:

Vivat! et absentem quoniam sic fata tulerunt
vivat ut auxilio sublevet usque suo.

Verg. *Aen.* ii. 34: Sive dolo seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.

55. 13 En hoc in tumulo cinerem nostri corporis
infestae Parcae deposuerunt carmine.
378. 5 Heu nimium celeres in funere Parcae.
430. 1 Hic iacet exanimus dilectae corpus alumnae
quam Parcae insontem merserunt funere acerbo.
1160. 3 Sed legem fati Parcae dixere cruentam,
primus natalis condant ut ossa sua.
1355. 2 Quos uno Lachesis mersit acerba die.¹

See 59. 3, 428, 1058. 7, 1119. 4, 1141. 13, 1156. 4, 1590. 5, and 1591. 8.

The figure of the Parcae spinning and cutting the thread and thus determining the end of life is common.

443. 5 Et faut rupisse suas quoque filia sorores.²
501. 6 Ni Lachesis brevia rupisset stamina fuso,
pro dolor, ut nulli decreta rumpere, fas est
Parcarum diva duosque evadere casus.

Similar allusions to the thread of the Parcae appear in Inscriptions 587. 1, 1011. 5, 1109. 1, 1114. 4, 1144, 1205, 1206, 1223, 1248, 1523, 1548, 1549, and 1552. 4.

We have observed that the envy of Fate was frequently considered the cause of death. In the same manner envy is frequently attributed to the Parcae.³

472. 3 Invida Parcarum semper sic prona voluntas
oppressit.
627 Cunctis fila parant et Parcae nec parceretur ullis.

Also 422. 10, 537, 1164, 1169, 1206, 1590.

There are a few examples where the Parcae in a manner similar to the Fates are considered as controlling the affairs of life.⁴

436. 7 Sic etenim duxere olim primordia Parcae.
492. 5 Inmeritae propere solventem fila dearum
quae globo Parcarum revoluta cuncta gubernant.
1189. 3 Huic non dura Clotho decrevit in annis.

Also 1122. 7 and 1533. 4. Cf. Ovid *Tr.* v. 3. 25:

scilicet hanc legem nantes fatalia Parcae
stamina bis genito bis cecinere tibi.

As we have seen in regard to the Fates, the decrees of the Parcae are considered inevitable.

See 501, 506-8, quoted above.

¹ It is of interest to note that this is a Christian inscription.

² See Lucan iii. 18 ff.

³ We will give but a few examples here as a number have been given in chap. ii, p. 38, of this dissertation in connection with the common-place expression, "Taken away by envy."

⁴ See Ovid *Met.* xv. 391; Tibull. i. 7. 1; Ovid *Ex Ponto* i. 8. 64.

Cf. Ovid *Met.* xv. 780:

Qui rumpere quamquam
ferrea non possunt veterum decreta sororum.
1552. 69 Fatis certa via est neque se per stamina mutat
Atropos, ut primo coepit decurrere filo
crede, Secunde, mihi, pensatos ibis in annos.

The Parcae are named in place of the Manes in Inscription 401. 5.

Namque pios tarde speraui vissere Parcas.

FORTUNA

The goddess Fortuna is either regarded as similar to Fate in the capacity of directing the affairs of life and determining the time of death, or she is regarded as the power which shapes the life of man and sends prosperity.¹

Fortuna directs the affairs of man and determines the time of his death.

63. 5 Queror fortunae cassum tam iniquom et gravem.
442. 3 O Fortuna, fidem quantum mutasti maligae.²
443. 11 Placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulchrum.³
506. 1 Hic erat hic primus, genitor ut glorius essem
si Fortuna quidem fatis non laeva fuisset.⁴
512. 12 Ut voluit Fortuna; nunquam me deseruit ipsa.⁵
588. 5 Invida Fortuna repenti funere mersit.⁶

Also see Inscriptions 376. 5, 456. 1, 500, 610, 718. 2, 814, 980. 3, 1065, 1170, 1171, 1226, 1290, 1485, 1514, and 1610. 68.

In a few inscriptions Fortuna is given the function most commonly attributed to the Parcae, that of determining the end of life.

515 Iam requiem sumimus, ubi nos Fortuna remisit.
742 Sed traxit Fortuna diem nec distulit horam.⁷
1252 Me consurgentem valida Fortuna iuventa
destituit rapidis imposuitque rogis.

¹ See Cicero *Ad fam.* ix. xi. 1: Aut fortunae succumbendum putem; and Verg. *Aen.* v. 710.

² See Verg. *Aen.* v. 604: Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
See Lucan ii. 460 ff.:

. . . . facilis sed vetere mentes
terror erat dubiamque fidem fortuna ferebat.

³ See Lucan viii. 793:

Hic situs est Magnus, placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulchrum
dicere Pompeii, quo condui maluit illum
qua terra caruisse socer?

⁴ See *Aen.* ii. 54: Et si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset.

⁵ Compare references to will of Fate, p. 71.

⁶ Compare references to envy of Fate, p. 35.

⁷ This reference is in a Christian inscription.

Fortuna is often looked upon as the power which shapes life and sends prosperity.

- 185 Fortuna spondet multa multis, praestat nemini.
 409. 8 Actumst, excessi, Spes et Fortuna valet.¹
 447. 6 Vivite felices superi quorum fortuna beatast.²
 1187. 7 Munus erat, Fortuna, tuum servare pudicam,
 et poteras ambos Italiae dare tu.

Similar references to Fortuna are contained in Inscriptions 404, 569, 1086, 1136. 5, 1498, and 1589.

Inscription 544 contains allusions to both Fatum and Fortuna.

- A. 1-6 procul aspice
 ut semper cruciat miserum Fortuna parentem.
 hic erat ille puer cunctis dum vixit amatus
 cui telae parvos brevis orsus Fata dederunt
 cuius et ipsa soror Phoebi visu furiata
 non tenuit pharetram livens dea—
 14 Cum rapido Fatum motu volt omnia verti.
 B. 9 o Fortuna duplex ad acerbos promptior ictus.

In this composition it is probable that Fata or Fatum is equivalent to destiny and Fortuna is the guiding power in life.

¹ See also 1498.

² See also 804 and 805, 1117. 5, and Verg. *Aen.* iii. 493:
 Vivite felices quibus est fortuna peracta.

CHAPTER IV

CONSOLATIONS, PESSIMISM, AND FRIVOLITY OF EXPRESSION

This chapter will treat of the view of life of the Romans as illustrated by consolatory expressions and sentiments of pessimistic and frivolous character.

Consolatory expressions.—The history of consolations in Greek and Latin literature has been thoroughly discussed by Carl Buresch in an article entitled "Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica," *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, 1887. This work has been further supplemented by a dissertation by Otto Schantz, entitled *De Incerti Poetae Consolatione ad Liviam deque Carminum Consolatoriorum apud Graecos Romanosque Historia*, Marburg, 1889. Lier, in the article which we have had occasion to refer to previously, has discussed some of them, but he has by no means considered all, and, moreover, they are lost sight of among the other topics. Consequently, in treating of the question of consolatory expressions in the *Carmina* our purpose will be to consider to what extent the writers of the inscriptions have made use of the common topics of consolation.

Schantz, in his dissertation named above, divides the arguments for consolation found in Greek and Latin literature under six heads:

1. *Patientia et constantia.*—The power of the Fates is immovable which nothing can resist, and the plan of the gods is inevitable which can be changed by no prayers.
2. *Consolatio per exempla.*—Death threatens all alike. All hasten to the same place.
3. *Mors mala solvit.*—Death frees one from the evils of this life.
4. *Memoriae decus.*—Honor of memory and hope of glory after death by report of life.
5. *Funerum magnificentia.*—Magnificence of funeral.
6. *Immortalitas.*—Immortality of the soul and hope of happy life after death. As the subsequent discussion will demonstrate, the consolations employed by the writers of the *Carmina* coincide in a large measure with the topics given by Schantz. The first one of these, that of the immovable power of the Fates and the inevitability of the plans of the gods, has been considered in the preceding chapter in connection with the belief in the gods and Fate.¹ Therefore we shall pass to the second topic, that of the certainty of death for all.

¹ See chap. iii, pp. 66 and 68 ff.

I. CONSOLATION THAT DEATH IS CERTAIN FOR ALL AND THAT
NO ONE AVOIDS IT

The certainty of death is expressed in a variety of ways; as, one must die; death comes to all; all must travel the same road; 'all go to the same place; all are held by the same lot; the lot of man is like apples; others have suffered as well from the death of loved ones; even great kings die; tears are useless; man is mortal and must die; death is in accordance with the laws of nature; life is short and life is only loaned to one to be returned again.

1. Everyone must die; death comes to all is a common-place found among the Greek and Latin writers.¹ Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 784:

βροτοῖς ἀπάσι καταθανεῖν ὀφείλεται
κοῦκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσιν εἰ βιώσεται.

Eur. *Andr.* 1270:

παῦσαι δὲ λύπην τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπερ
πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀθρώποισιν ἦδε πρὸς θεῶν
ψῆφος κέκρανται καταθανεῖν τ' ὀφείλεται.

Kaibel *Epiqr. Gr.* 217. 6:

. . . . κεισθὼ πᾶσι χρόνου ταῦτὸν ἔπεστι τέλος.

Kaibel 416. 6:

. . . . ὥς εἰδὼς ὅτι πᾶσι βροτοῖς τὸ θανεῖν ἀπόκειται.

Kaibel 264. 12:

. . . . εἰς γὰρ πάντα μένει θάνατος.

Simonides frg. 39:

. . . . ὁ δ' ἀφυκτος ὁμῶς ἐπικρέμαται θάνατος
κείνου γὰρ ἴσον λάχον μέρος οἱ ἀγαθοί.

Eurip. frg. 47 (ed. Wagner):

πάντων τὸ θανεῖν τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἄχος μετρίως
ἀλγεῖν σοφία μελέτῃ.

Eurip. *Androm.* 125-46 contains the same thought. Plutarch *Consol.*
ad Apoll., 104D:

καινὸν ἀτυχεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ
ἀλλὰ πάντες ταῦτὸ πεπόνθαμεν.

Seneca *Herc. Furens* 191:

nulli iusso cessare licet
nulli scriptum proferre diem
recipit populos urna citatos.

¹ See dissertation by Schantz.

Horace *Carm.* iii. 1. 14 ff.:

Aequa lege Necessitas
sortitur insignis et imos
omne capax movet urna nomen.

When we turn to the metrical inscriptions we note that they abound in sentiments concerning the inevitability of death similar to those considered above. Such phrases as *moriundum*, *veniundum*, and *faciundum* are commonly employed to denote the uncertainty of life.

Moriundum.—

Buech. 68. 12 Nihil timeo, nec confido; moriundum scio.

118. 2 Noli stomocare, suadeo, caldum bibas.
moriundust. vale.

Veniundum.—

119 Heus tu, viator lasse, qui me praeteries,
cum diu ambulareis, tamen hoc veniundum est tibi.¹

83. 4 Bene vive, propera. hoc est veniundum tibi.

242 Hospitium tibi hoc, invitus venio, veniundum est tamen.

Faciundum.—

146 Noli dolere, mamma, faciendum fuit.

Also 147, 148, 1536, 1538, 1539, 1540, and 1542 contain the same sentiment with but slight variety of expression.

150 Aetas properavit, faciendum fuit.

It often happened that the simple statement that one must die, as seen in the above examples, was not sufficient and the writers attempted to employ more figurative language. It is quite likely that the popular poets of Rome not only influenced them in thought but also in the manner and tone of expression. See No. 1202:

Nec duro iam doleas obitu.
nec tibi nec nobis aeternum vivere cessit.
quod pueri occidimus, fata querenda putas?
dum sis in vita dolor est amittere vitam,
dum simul occidimus, omnia despicias,
orbem sub legas si habeas dum vivis, ad Orchum
quid valet? hic nulla est divitis ambitio.

The tone of this composition is similar to Horace *Carm.* iv. 7. 21 ff.

Cum semel occideris et te splendida Minos
Fecerit arbitria
Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
restituēt pietas.

¹ Cf. Seneca *De rem. fort.* 2. 2.

The author of 1223 in comparing death to a voyage to the lower world¹ very probably had in mind the sentiment of Horace as expressed in *Carmina* ii. 14. 10 and ii. 3. 27. See 1223. 6:

Omnes aequae rapit Ditis acerba manus.
et vos per Stigias portabit portitor undas,
cum vitam Parcae linquent et stamina Clotho.

Hor. *Carm.* ii. 14. 10 ff.:

Compescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
quicumque terrae munere vescimur,
enaviganda, sive reges
sive inopes erimus coloni.

ii. 3. 27:

Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
versatur urna serius ociosus
Sors exitura et nos in aeternum
exilium impositura cumbae.

It is not always possible to ascertain the particular writers who influenced the composers of the metrical inscriptions in which consolatory expressions regarding the inevitability of death are found. However, the general tone and character of the compositions often indicate that the authors had in mind quotations from the popular poets which are of a similar nature to those which have been considered. Note the following examples:

- 1389 Quisquis luctifero sortitur munere secum
occasu potius proditur ille suo,
cunctaque mundano currentia tempora gesta,
vel bona vel proba omnia morte canunt.
1390 Mors quae perpetuo cunctos hiatu,
pascere dum nescit, saepius inde fabet.
1491 Discite, dum vivo, mors inimica venit.
486. 3 Vivite mortales, moneo, mors omnibus instat.

Also 1210, 1258. 4, and 1492.

2. Death was commonly conceived of as the final destination to which all hasten. This was shown by employing such terms as *domus*, home; *sedes*, seat or resting-place, *meta*, goal, and *portus*, port. The Greek and Latin writers frequently employ such terms.² See Simonides frg. 38:

πάντα γὰρ μίαν ἱκνεῖται δασπλήτα Χαῤῥῆβδιν
αἱ μεγάλαί τ' ἄρεται καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος.

Crinagoras C. 452. 2:

κοινὸς πᾶσι λιμὴν Ἄιδης.

¹ Lier in article named previously, *Philologus* LXII, p. 666, sec. 18, states that this comparison is a common-place expression. He cites references to *Consol. ad Liviam* 357, Kaibel 129 and 256.

² See dissertation by Schantz, cited above.

C. 338. 6:

εἰς κοινὸν Ἀίδην πάντες ἤξουσιν βροτοί.

Kaibel *Epigr.* 519. 2:

Ἦ ῥα ποθεινὸς πᾶσιν ἔβης δόμον Ἀΐδος, οὐπω
εἰκοσ' ἐτῶν, μῆνας δ' ἔξ ἐτι λειπόμενος
Διόγενες.

Ovid *Met.* x. 33:

Serius aut citius sedem properamus ad unam
tendimus huc omnes, haec est domus ultima; vosque
humani generis longissima regna tenetis.

Consol. ad Liviam, vv. 359 ff.:

Tendimus huc omnes, metam properamus ad unam
omnia sub leges mors vocat atra sua.

Buech. 513:

Iam pridem . . . et vos venietis ibidem.

965. 9 Una domus cunctis, nec fugienda viris.

1021. 3 Sacratam cunctis sedem ne laede viator;
hanc tibi nascenti fata dedere domum.

1097. 3 Haec domus, haec requies omnibus una manet.

1276. 7 Quid properas, hospes? requies tibi nota paratast.
hospitium hoc populo semper ubique patet.

Also 580, 1238. 4, 1555, and 1588. 7.

3. Life is sometimes regarded as a journey which all must take to reach the common destination, death.¹ Cf. Horace *Odes* i. 28. 15:

Sed omnis una manet nox,
Et calcanda semel via leti.

Cf. also Seneca *De remediis fortuitorum liber* 3. 2: Undecumque ad infernos una via est; and the *Consol. ad Polybium* iv. 9: Omnibus illo nobis commune est iter; quid fata deflemus.

Buech. 971 Terminus est vitae nostrae tertius et vicensimus annus.

998. 2 Cum sit communis omnibus una via.

1310. 5 Vade, age, nunc hospes qua te via ducit euntem:
huc omnis fati turba relicta ruit.

For additional examples see chap. ii, p. 42.

4. The uncertainty of man's life is frequently compared to the manner in which apples hang upon a tree. As the fruit is sometimes plucked before it is ripe and at other times allowed to remain until mature, so is the lot of man. See Simonides frg. 85. 3:

¹ See chap. ii, p. 42, of this dissertation. Bruno Lier *Philologus* LXII, p. 564, sec. 17, shows that this is a common-place among the Greek writers. See Plato *Apol.* 40E and 41A, *Phaedo* 61E, 67B, and 115A, Axiochus 365B, Kaibel 534, 240, 1. 2, and *Anthol. Pal.* VII. 349. 2.

οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μένει χρῆμα¹ ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ
ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον χιὸς ἔεπεν ἀνὴρ
οἷη περ φύλλων γενέη, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

And Seneca *De rem. fort.* 13. 1: Amisi liberos, stultus es, qui defles mortem mortalium. quid istic aut novum aut mirum est? Quid, si infelicem voces arborem, quod stante ipsa cadunt poma.

Buecheler cites Macrobius *Sat.* iii. 19, 4: Mala citrea, alia enim praecarpuntur alia interim maturescunt. See the following from the metrical inscriptions:

465. 20 Res hominum sic sunt ut citrea poma;
aut matura cadunt aut immatura leguntur.

1490 Quo modo mala in arbore pendunt, sic corpora nostra
aut matura cadunt aut cito acerva ruunt.

Also 1542 and 1543.

5. Frequently emphasis is given to the fact that man is mortal and as he is mortal it is expected that he should die.¹

See Seneca *Epist. mor.*, lib. xvi, ep. iv (99), sec. 8: Quisquis aliquem queritur mortuum esse queritur hominem fuisse. Aut si mortem in homine non cogitavit sibi imposuit, omnis eadem condicio devinxit, cui nasci contigit, mori restat. Cicero *Ep. ad fam.* iv. 5. 4: Visne tu, Serge, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum? See *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 562:

ἀθάνατον δὲ οὔτε λόγος ποιεῖν οὔτε θεὸς δύναται.

Kaibel 567:

ἀθάνατος μερόπων οὐδεὶς ἔφν. τοῦδε Σειβήρα
θησεύς, Αἰακίδαὶ μαρτυρές εἰσι λόγον.

Kb. *Rhein. Mus.* XXXIV. 196, No. 723, A.

Θάρσσο, Εὐσείβιος ἀθάνατος οὐδεὶς.

Kb. 609.

εὐψύχει Βάσιλα, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος.

Buech. 71A Tu qui legis, memento te esse hominem, vale.

191 Tu memento
sumus mortales, immortales non sumus.

241 Cogitato te hominesse et scito moriundust. Vale.

1115 Qui se hominem meminet, securo pectore vivat.

1544. 7 Tu qui adsisti, mei monumenti hospes memor
ambula et te esse hominem fac perpetuo cogites.

Similar sentiments are found in 389. 4, 486. 3, 500. 7, 808, 857. 5, and 1202. 2.

That man is destined to die is sometimes expressed by the use of the term *moriturus*. Cf. Seneca *Consol. ad Polyb.* xi. 2. Seneca praises him,

¹ Lier *Philologus* LXII, sec. 21, p. 569, shows that this is a common-place thought among the writers of Greek inscriptions.

"Qui nuntiata filii morte exclamavit; egoc um genui, tum scivi moriturum."

Horace *Carm.* i. 28. 6:

Percurisse polum morituro.

Buech. 391. 6 Hic simili casu qui pendes, commoda visus
et lacrimas titulo noli moriture negare.

1583. 17 Homo, violare noli si te moriturum putas.

Also 484. 6, 983. 1, and 1326. 3.

6. The consolation that death is in accord with the laws of nature is frequently employed. Cf. Seneca *De rem fort.* 2. 1:

Morieris, ista hominis natura est non poena.

Seneca *Quaest. nat.* vi. 32. 12:

Mors naturae lex est.

Seneca *Dial.* xii. 13. 2:

(Ad Helvetiam matrem de Consolatione.) Si ultimam diem non quasi poenam, sed quasi naturae legem adspicies, ex quo pectore metum eieceris, in id nullius rei audebit intrare.

Buech. 57. 3 Ratus hospitium esse quod natura tradidit.

1021 Mortua cum fueris, fati quod lege necessest.

1339. 4 Omnia sic repetunt iura locosque suos.
Sic rerum natura iubet, sic temporis ordo
quae modo sunt pereunt, quaeque futura, cadent.

1567. 7 Mors etenim hominum natura non poena est,
cui contigit nasci, instat et mori.

See 432, 1327. 13, 1376, and 1567. 7.

756. 7 Non vitium mors, consuetudo propria natis.

This consolation is found in one Christian inscription. See

1354 Praefixo moriens naturae munere functus
hic mea Tigrinus presbyter ossa loco.

The consolation is commonly found that the same lot is attributed to all.*

391. 6 Hic simili casu qui pendes, commoda visus
et lacrimas titulo noli moriture negare.

610 Aionii salve, doleas ne fata suprema,
sic Fortuna tibi dederat transcurrere vitam,
omnes mortales eadem nam sorte tenemur.

1549. 9 Ad tu ne propera, simili qui sorte teneris,
dunc annos titulo, nomina ut ipse legas.

The reader is sometimes informed of the certainty of death by being advised to make a monument for himself while reading that of another.

1190. 6 Aeternamque domum petimus et fine[m] laborum
dum legis hoc, disce ponere et ipse tibi.

1553. 11 I, potius propera, nam qui legis ipse legeris.

* See article by Lier *Phil.* LXII, sec. 20, p. 568.

7. It appears to have been popular for the inscriptions to represent those who have departed as consoling those left with the thought that they are not the only ones to have suffered from the death of loved ones. See Euripides *Cresph.*, frg. 456:

τεθνᾶσαι παῖδες οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῃ βροτῶν
οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἐστερήμεθ' ἀλλὰ μυρίαί
τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξέντλησαν, ὥς ἐγω βίον.

Seneca *Ad Polybium* i. 4: Maximum ergo solicium est, cogitare id sibi accidisse quod omnes ante se passi sunt omnesque passuri. See Buech.

823 Desine iam mater, lacrimis renovare querellas,
namque dolor talis non tibi contigit uni.

1341 Teque, optima mater, peto ereptum ne doleas:
non tibi nunc primum, lux mea, raptus ero.

Similar sentiments appear in Inscriptions 1211 and 1240.

8. There seems to have been great consolation from the thought that great kings suffer from death as well as common individuals.¹ See Lucret. iii. 1027:

Inde alii multi reges rerumque potentes
occiderunt. magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt.

See Inscription 970. 11:

Desine iam frustra, mea mater, desine fletu
te miseram totos exagitare dies.
namque dolor talis non nunc tibi contigit uni
haec eadem et magneis regibus acciderunt.

Similar expressions are found in Inscriptions 971 and 1068.

9. As death is inevitable tears are vain. Consequently the deceased is often represented as advising the relatives and friends who are left not to spend their time in useless weeping. This is a common sentiment expressed by Greek and Latin writers.² See Homer *Il.* xxiv. 128-30:

τέκνον ἐμὸν τέο μέχρ' οἶδ' ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχέων
σὴν ἔδουαι κραδίην, μεμνημένος οὔτε τι σίτου
οὔτ' εὐνῆς.

549-51: ἄνσχεο, μηδ' ἀλίσστον ὀδύρεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν
οὐ γὰρ τι πρήξεις ἀνασχόμενος υἱὸς ἔῃς
οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθα.

In Simonides frg. 2, the author advises not to weep for the dead longer than one day.

τοῦ μὲν θανόντος οὐκ ἂν ἐνθυμοίμεθα
εἴ τι φρονοῖμεν, πλείον ἡμέρης μιῆς.

¹ Lier *Philologus* XLII, sec. 27, p. 575, compares this consolation to the one in Greek inscriptions in which men sought solace from the death of heroes. Cf. Kaibel 191 and 298.

² See dissertation by Schantz.

Soph. frg. 26:

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἦν κλαίονσιν ἰᾶσθαι κακά
καὶ τὸν θανόντα δακρύοις ἀνιστάναι,
ὁ χρυσὸς ἦσσον κτῆμα τοῦ κλαίειν ἂν ἦν.
νῦν δ' ὧ γεραίε ταῦτ' ἀνηνύτως ἔχει
τὸν ἐν τάφῳ κρυφθέντα πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἄγειν
κάμοι γὰρ ἂν πάτηρ γε δακρύων χάριν
ἀνήκτ' ἂν εἰς φῶς.

Propertius v. xi. 1:

Desine, Paule, meum lacrimis urgere sepulchrum
panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces.

Also Statius *Silvae* ii., ll. 208 to 226, contains the thought that no one should weep at death as man is mortal. See Inscriptions:

513. 12 Lamenta quid prosunt?
Iam pridem . . . et vos venietis ibidem.
1212. 13 desistat humatam
ulterius lachrumis sollicitasse suis,
sum defleta satis, finem decet esse dolori,
qui semel occubuit, nulla querella iuvat.
59. 12 Pater mei et genetrix germana, oro atque obsecro
desinite luctu, questu lacrimas fundere.
Ll. 16 f. Nunc quoniam fatum se ita tollit, animo volo
aequo vos ferre concordisque vivere.

Also Inscriptions 807, 823, 970, 995, 1051, 1211, and 1310. The last named we considered above in reference to consoling those left with the thought that all suffer from death and consequently those left should not mourn.

10. The life of man is but a short span at the most. This commonplace idea is found among the Greek and Latin writers. Simonides frg. 3:

πολλὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν τεθνάναι χρόνος
ἔωμεν δ' ἀριθμῶ παῦρα καὶ κακῶς ἔτη.

Simonides fragments 1 and 85 contains similar consolations. Simonides frg. 39:

Ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγον μὲν κάρτος, ἄπρακτοι δὲ μεληδόνες
αἰῶνι δὲ παύρῃ πόνος ἀμφὶ πόνῳ.

Plutarch 111C. *Cons.*:

τότε πολὺ δῆπουθεν ἢ μικρὸν οὐδὲν διαφέρειν δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸν ἄπειρον ἀφοροῦσιν αἰῶνα. τὰ γὰρ χόλια καὶ τὰ μύρια κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ἔτη στιγμή τις ἐστὶν ἀόριστος . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ζῶντων ἐκείνων ἅπερ ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τὸν Πόντον γιγνόμενα.

Hieron. xivB:

Nam si nongentos vitae excederemus annos . . . tamen nihil esset praeterita longitudo quae esse desisset. Etenim inter eum qui decem vixit annos et illum

qui nullos, postquam idem vitae finis advenit . . . transactum omne tantundum est.

Cicero *Tusc. D.* I, 94:

Cur? nam reor nullis, si vita longior daretur, posset esse iucundior. Nihil enim est profecto homini prudentia dulcius, quam, ut cetera auferat, adfert certe sanctus. Quae vero aetas longa est, aut quid homini longum?

See Horace *Carm.* i. 4. 15:

Vitae summa brevis spem vos vetat incohare longam;
Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
Et domus exilis Plutonia.

See the following from Buecheler:

627. 6 Alios mone; vita brevis est.
801 Quid sumus aut loquimur, vita est quid denique nostra?
1067 Si tamen haec vita est, tam cito posse mori.
1428 Coniugio nostro spatium breve contigit aevi
non capiunt longas gaudia magna moras.
1489. 2 Aspice quam subito quod stetit ante cadit.
nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.¹

See also 1437.

The sentiment that life is short is expressed as well by the writers of Christian inscriptions. See

- 769 Lugemus te, miserande puer, quia breve omne quod bonum est.
1409 Sed breve tempus habet munus quodcumque deorum.
invidia Domitum fata tulere sibi.

Similar thoughts regarding the brevity of life are to be found in Inscriptions 186, 490, 1309, 1533, 1552. 1-8 and 63-66, and 1567.

Sometimes the writer laments that life is too short instead of consoling himself with this thought. See 1443. 4:

- Anni, vota simul, heheu quam parva fuerunt,
heu quam vita brevis, quam breve coniugium.
1171 Quam brevis heu misero vitae pars est data nato.

Inscriptions 8, 82, 750, and 1222 contain similar expressions of complaint on account of the shortness of life.

As life is short those who are left are often advised to get the most out of it while on earth. See Simonides frg. 1, 22-24:

εἰ δέ μοι πιθοίατο
οὐκ ἂν κακῶν ἐρώμεν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄγλασιν
κακοῖς ἔχοντες θυμὸν αἰκιζοίμεθα.

¹ For the common-place thought, "We are born to die," see article by Lier *Phil.* LXII, p. 584, sec. 30.

See Verg. *Aen.* iii. 493:

Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta.

Buech. 57. 5 Fructusque recte est rebus cum ameiceis sueis
sic tu tueis fac vivos utarus. vale.

76 Valet et bene facite vobis dum licet.

77. 6 Vale et bene facite vitae, dum fatum venit.

245 Vive laetus, quique vivis, vita parvom munus est,
mox exorta est, sensim vigescit, deinde sensim deficit.

Also see Inscriptions 62. 4, 82. 10, 83. 4, 141. 7, 185, 186, 245, 973, 1083, 1084, and 1231.

The writers often employed the phrase *Vivite felices*. See reference from Vergil's *Aen.* given above.

447. 6 Vivite felices superi quorum fortuna beatat.

485. 5 Vivite victuri, moneo; mors omnibus instat.

Also see 373, 486, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 1004, 1081, 1082, 1091, 1095, 1117, and 1167.

In Inscription 1167 the writer, very probably desiring to avoid the common-place expression, substituted *ludite* for *vivite*.

L. 5 Ludite felices, patitur dum vita, puellae.

11. The last consolation which we shall consider in connection with inevitability of death is that life is a loan which must be returned. This is also a common-place found throughout the Greek and Latin writers.¹

See Lucret. iii. 971:

Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.

Propert. ii. 1. 71:

Quandocumque igitur vitam mea fata reposcent.

Ovid *Met.* x. 32:

Omnia debentur vobis, paulumque morati
serius aut citius sedem properamus ad unum.

Seneca *Ad Polybium* x. 4:

Si quis pecuniam creditam solvisse se moleste ferat, eam praesertim cuius usum gratuitum acceperit, nonne iniustus vir habeatur? Dedit natura vitam debitum exegit.

Consol. ad Liviam v. 369:

Vita data est utenda, data est sine faenore
nobis mutua nec certa persolvenda die.

Cicero *Tusc. disp.* i. 93: Ea [natura] dedit usuram vitae.

The following expressions of this thought are found in the *Carmina*:

¹ Lier *Philologus* LXII, p. 578, sec. 28, gives a number of the Greek sources of this common-place.

- 183 *Usurae vitae sortem morti reddidit.*
 1001. 4 *Apstulit iniustus creditor ante diem.*
 1316 *Vixi parum dulcisque fui dum vivo parenti.*
 hoc titulo tegeor, debita persolvi.

See 1120, 1126, and 1168. 3.

The statement that life was a loan is common as well in Christian inscriptions.

693. 5 *Reddidi nunc domino rerum debitum communem omnibus olim.*
 718. 5 *Ultimum iam solui debitum communem omnibus unum.*

Also 698.

II. DEATH FREES ONE FROM THE EVILS OF LIFE

The consolation that death is better than life as it frees one from the evils of life appears to be second in regard to the number of times employed by the writers of the *Carmina* to that of the inevitability of death. Schantz, in the dissertation to which we have previously referred, places this third among the common-place consolations.

The thought that death frees one from the evils of life is constantly employed by the writers of antiquity as a solace for death. See Aesch.

Prom. 750:

*κρείσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν
 ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.*

Soph. frg. 556:

*ὅστις γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσιν ἱμείρει βίον
 ἢ δειλός ἐστιν ἢ δυσάλγητος φρενᾶς.*

Soph. Trach. 1173:

τοῖς γὰρ θανοῦσι μόχθος οὐ προσγίνεται.

The thought that the dead feel no evil is found in the following: Euripides *Troad.* 635 f.

*τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τῷ θανεῖν ἴσον λέγω
 τοῦ ζῆν δὲ λυπρῶς κρείσσον ἐστι κατθανεῖν.*

Herac. 595:

*τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν
 κακῶν μέγιστον φάρμακον νομίζεται.*

In *Hec.* 340 ff. Polyxena consoles her mother by telling her that death is to be preferred to servitude. *Philoc.* frg. 789:

*ἄλῃς, ὦ βιοτὰ, πέραινε πρὶν τινα συντυχίαν
 ἢ κτεάτεσσιν ἐμοῖς ἢ τῷδε γενέσθαι.*

Kaibel *Epigr.* 153. 13 ff.:

ἡ ῥα καλὸν γέρας ἔσχον, εἰ ἀψευδὴς λόγος ἀνδρῶν
παῖδας ἀποθνήσκειν οὕς φιλέουσι θεοί.

340. 8 ὅσους γὰρ φιλέουσι θεοὶ θνήσκουσιν ἄωροι.

426. 4 καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν, οἷς τὸ ζῆν ὕβριν φέρει.

453. 3 ἡ ῥ' ἐτυμον τάφος εἰμὶ βροτοῖς ἀνάπανμα μέγιστον
ἐκ βίотου καμάτων ἡδὲ γλεωπονίης.

For death regarded as a blessing see Seneca *Consol. ad Marc.* xx. 4: Cogita quantum boni opportuna mors habet, quam multis diutius vixisse nocuerit. Aesch. *Pers.* 703 ff.:

κλαυμάτων λήξασα τῶνδε καὶ γόων σαφές τί μοι
λέξον. ἀνθρώπεα δὴ τοι πῆματ' ἂν τύχοι βροτοῖς
πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θαλάσσης, πολλὰ δ' ἐκ χέρσου κακὰ
γίγνεται θνητοῖς, δ' μᾶσσων βίотος ἦν ταβὴ πρόσω.

Antipholus C. 574. 9, 10:

ἔμπευς ὀλβιος οὗτος ὃ ἐν νεότητι μαρανθεῖς
ἐκφυγε τὴν βίотου θᾶσσον ἀλιτροσύνην.

Cicero tells us, *Tusculan Disputations* i. 83, that this doctrine of the escape from troubles of life through death was taught so extensively by Cyreniacus of Hegesia that King Ptolomaeus had to prohibit it, because many when they heard of this committed suicide.¹

Let us now consider the use of this consolatory expression by the writers of the *Carmina*.² See

1340 Munde, tuas fugio insidias, vale proditor, at te
nunc peto terra, mei corporis una quies.

99. 6 Itaque hoc sepulcrum vivus in patrio solo
mihi aedificavi, ubi solitus taedio
curisque placide iam dego et timeo nihil.

1274 Morborum vitia et vitae mala maxima fugi:
nunc careo poenis, pace fruor placida.

Also see Inscriptions 89. 5, 97. 5 ff., 142, 143, 390, 436, 437. 1, 460, 499, 507, 514, 515, 534, 544, 675, 1001, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1106, 1190, 1267, 1332, 1438, 1533, and 1580.

¹ Similar solaces from the thought that death frees one from the evils of life are found in the following. Aristotle *Eudem.*, frg. 36; Cicero *Consol.*, frg. 10, 11, *Tusc.* i. 74; *Cato Major* 77. 82; *Inc. Cons. ad Polyb.* ix. 6; Eurip. frg. 830, 639, 957; Plato *Geog.* 493A; Seneca *Ad Marc.* xxi. 7; Cicero *Ad. jam.* v. 16. 4; Theognis 425 ff. Also see references to Latin poets given in chap. ii, p. 25, in connection with the common-place, "Rest in peace."

² As a number of the examples of the use of this have been given in chap. ii in connection with the common-place, "Rest in peace," it will be useless to give all the examples here.

Death not only frees one from the evils of life, but by an early death one is saved from the trials which attend old age.¹

- Ins. 996 Exiguo vitae spatio feliciter acto
effugi crimen, longa sancta, tuum.
1165. 9 Perpetuo talis gemitu lacrimisque colenda
infelix, aevo tam cito quae caruit,
an felix aegrae potius subducta senectae?
1207 Vita brevis longo melior mortalibus aevo,
nam parvo spatio floruit haec anima.

Much relief from sorrow was often derived from the thought that as man's condition after death was similar to that before birth there was certainly no need to mourn. See Plato *Axiochus* 369B:

Ἦκουσα δέ ποτε καὶ τοῦ Προδίκου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θάνατος οὔτε περὶ τοὺς ζῶντας ἐστὶ, τοὺς μετελλάχοντας . . . ὅτι περὶ μὲν τοὺς ζῶντας οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ γὰρ τέθηκας, οὔτε εἰ τι πάθεις, ἔσται περὶ σε, σὺ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσει.

See Cicero *Tusc.* i. 91:

Natura vero si se habet, ut, quo modo initium vobis rerum omnium ortus noster adferat, sic exitum mors ut nihil pertinuit ad nos ante ortum, sic nihil post mortem pertinebit. In quo quid potest esse mali, cum mors nec ad vivos pertineat, nec ad mortuos?

See also *Tusc.* i. 90. See Plutarch *Cons.* 109F:

Ὅσπερ οὖν οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν, οὕτως οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. καὶ καθάπερ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ μεθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἔσται πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

See Lucretius iii. 830:

Nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum
quandoquidem natura animi mortalis habetur.

Also compare the thought in Lucretius iii. 870 ff. that a man must not mourn if his body is torn by wild beasts after death, as the dead feel no evil. This consolation that the dead feel no evil is also contained in Diog. *Ex epistula ad Menoeceum* x. 125:

τὸ φρικωδέστατον οὖν τῶν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπειδήπερ ὅταν μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦμεν, ὁ θάνατος οὐ πάρεστιν, ὅταν δ' ὁ θάνατος παρῇ, τόθ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμέν. οὔτ' οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἐστὶν οὔτε πρὸς τετελευτηκότας ἐπειδήπερ περὶ οὓς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εἰσίν.

Also see Eurip. *Troad.* 635 ff., *Herac.* 535, *Hec.* 340, *Philoct.*, frg. 789, and Seneca *Ep.* 102. 25. See Buech.

800. 3 Non fueras, non es, iterum nunc desines esse.

¹ See Seneca *Consol. ad Marcell.* xx. 4: Cogita quantum boni opportuna mors habet, quam multis diutius vixisse nocuerit. See article by Bruno Lier *Philologus* LXII, sec. 36, p. 596.

801. 1 Quid sumus aut loquimur, vita est quid denique nostra?
vel modo nobiscum vixit homo, nunc homo non est.
- 1494 Vos ego nunc moneo, semper qui vivitis avare:
nudus natura fueras a matre creatus,
nudus eris. obitis gratia nulla datur.
- 1495 Nihil sumus et fuimus mortales. respice lector.
'in nihil ab nihilo quam cite recidimus.'¹
1559. 15 Quod fueram, non sum, et rursus ero quod modo non sum.
ortus et occasus vitaeque morsque itidest.

Also see 214, 799, 1493, 1496, and 1497.

In Inscription 1561 solace is found in the thought that death can take nothing away.

Te nati deflent, nec mors tibi sustulit ullum.

III. CONSOLATION FROM THE HONOR OF MEMORY AMONG THOSE LIVING

The fourth common-place consolation which Schantz names in his dissertation is that through the honor of memory. A man may die but death cannot take away his reputation. This, as well as the others which we have studied, was commonly expressed by the Greek and Latin writers.² See Kaibel 57:

Σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδ' ἔχει σόν, Δίφιλε, γαῖα θανόντος
μνήμα δὲ σῆς ἔλιπες πᾶσι δικαιουσίνης.

See Kaibel 60:

Σῆς ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα, Θεοφίλη, οὔποτε λήσει
σώφρων καὶ χρηστή καὶ ἐργατὶς πᾶσαν ἔχουσα ἀρετήν.

See Kaibel 59:

σῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ σωθροσύνης μνήμειον ἅπασιν
λείπεις οἰκτρὰ παθὼν μοίρας ὑπο δαίμονος ἐχθροῦ.

See Verg. *Ecl.* v. 78:

Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.

Ovid *Trist.* iii. 7. 50:

Me tamen extincto fama superstes erit.

The writers of the *Carmina* employed this solace, but not as frequently as those which we have previously considered. See

¹ Cf. Persius iii. 84:

. . . . Gigni
de nihilo nihilum, in nihilum posse reverti.

² See dissertation by Schantz. In addition to the references given see Tyrtaeus frg. 10, ed. Brück. vv. 27-30; Tyrtaeus frg. 12, vv. 23-34; Aesch. frg. 3, 4; *Sept.* 397 ff.; Soph. *Antig.* 818, and Eurip. *Hipp.* 1410.

- 618 Fama viget, periit corpus, sed nomen in ore est.¹
 545. 4 Fama viges, magno semper laudata pudore.
 1437 Vitae summa brevis, sed castae gloria famae.

Also 1339. 19 and 1440. 7.

This consolation is frequently found in Christian inscriptions.

1375. 3 Non tamen his secum potuit deducere laudes,
 quas vivens semper fama superstes habet.
 1337. 7 Nil brevis ergo dies, nil mors detraxit acerva,
 at laudem crescit parvula vita tibi.

Those left are represented as consoling themselves with the thought that the image of the departed is ever before them. This is found in two inscriptions.

- 430 Namque ego te semper, mea alumna Asiatica, quaeram,
 adsidueque tuos voltus fingam mihi merens
 et solamen erit quod te iam iamque videbo,
 cum vita functus iungar tis umbra figuris.
 1298 Invide, quid gaudes? illa hic mihi mortua vivet,
 illa meis oculis aurea semper erit.

IV. CONSOLATION FROM PERFORMING FUNERAL RITES, THE ERECTION OF A TOMB, ETC.

Grief was often alleviated by performing the last rites for the departed, or by erecting a monument to perpetuate the memory. Schantz has collected a number of examples, in the dissertation referred to, from the Greek and Latin writers which demonstrate that this topic of consolation also was not original with the writers of the Latin inscriptions. See Kaibel 137:

Πάντα ὅσα τοῖς χρηστοῖς φθιμένοις νόμος ἐστὶ γενέσθαι
 τῶνδε τυχῶν ἀγὼ τὸνδε τόφον κατέχω.

Kaibel 103. 9:

βῶλός σοι κούφα Ἐλεφνηοῖς δστία κρύπτοι
 ἀνθοφύης μεγάλης εἵνεκα σωφροσύνας.

Also Kaibel 403. 5, 548, 569. 5-10, and 610, and Verg. *Aen.* xi. 62 ff. See Buech. 654. 9:

- Quae tamen extremum munus, solacia luctus,
 omnibus obsequiis ornat decoratque sepulcrum.
 682. 8 Haec mater et genitor conscribunt carmina busto
 quo legenti simul redeat sub corde figura
 et siccato saepe madescant lumina fletu.
 1203. 9 Dat tamen haec patronae pietas solacia fidae,
 iugera quot terrae dedicat hic tumulus.

Also see 734, 1052, 1102, 1205, 1243, 1536, and 1604.

¹ See Ovid *Met.* vii. 58; *Fasti* vi. 528; *Tristia* iii. 14. 24.

The method of consolation in 480 is unique. The wife has an image of her husband made which will be a solace to her whenever she looks upon it.

Hic situs est Varius cognomine Frontonianus
quem coniunx lepida posuit Cornelia Galla.
Dulcia restituens veteris solacia vitae
marmoreos voltus statuit, oculos animumque
longius ut kara posset saturare figura.
Hoc solamen erit visus.

Another unique consolation is found in Inscription 1184. 12 ff. The husband wishes a flower to grow up from the tomb of his wife which will be her body.

O mihi si superi vellent praestare roganti
ut tuo de tumulo flos ego cernam nouum
crescere vel viridi ramo vel flore amaranti
vel roseo vel purpureo violaeque nitore,
ut qui praeteriens gressu tardante viator
viderit hos flores, titulum legat et sibi dicat
"hoc flos est corpus Flaviae Nicopolis."

V. CONSOLATION OF IMMORTALITY

Frequently consolation is derived from the thought that the one who has departed is now enjoying everlasting life. The feeling of the authors of the inscriptions seems to have been similar to that often expressed by Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations*, either that there is total annihilation after death as we have seen in the second common-place consolation, or that there was a place for the departed in which they were better off than on earth.¹ The authors of the metrical inscriptions were almost equally divided in the use of these consolations although there are a few more examples where that of immortality is employed.² See Inscriptions

- 775 Ne lacrimas dimissa coniuge fundas,
ni doleas talem cui pro morte data vita perennis.
- 1358 Parcite vos lacrimis dulces cum coniuge natae
viventem deo credite flere nefas.
- 1401 Sola tamen tanti restat solamina luctus,
quod tales animae protinus astra petunt.

See also 1406, 1407, 1361. 7, 1408, 1402, 1423, 1361, 1367, and 1834.

¹ It will not be necessary to give a large number of examples at this point as this question of immortality will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter. Under the present topic we shall consider only the instances in which the belief in immortality is a solace for grief.

² Schantz has pointed out a number of instances where this consolation is used by Greek writers. See Pindar frg. 108, 110; *Olympiac* 33, ll. 67 ff.; Eurip. *Alcestis* 363; *Hec.* 422; Plato *Phaedo* 68A; *Apol.* 40C and Kaibel 35; 41; 90; 104. 3-6; 148. 2-3; 150. 8; 159. 2; 175; 225. 3; 228. 7-8; 134. 5-6; 261. 9-10; 266; 268. 7-8; 288. 4-5; 312. 4-5; 420. 5-6; 324. 3-4; 325. 5-6; 338. 1-2; 442. 4-5; 433; 516; 522A. 12-13; 529; 642. 6-7; 648. 9 ff., and 649.

Sometimes grief is lessened by the thought that the deceased was taken because he was worthy of the gods. This common-place is found frequently among the Greek writers.¹ See Kaibel 340. 8, 153, 366, 268, and 471; Homer *Od.* xiii. 245; Plutarch *Consol. ad Apoll.* 111B and 119E, and Pseudo-Dionysus, p. 30. See Inscriptions

94. 4 Solamen est hoc simulatque criminis
nec vera vox; tamen dulcem obisse feminam
puto quod deorum est visa coetu dignior.
1277 Functus honorato senio plenusque dierum
evocor ad superos: pignora, quid gemitis?
1560B. 5 Octauus decimus vix te susceperat annus;
ocys eripitur, quod placet esse dei.

In Inscription 1109 this thought that the deceased has gone to the gods and consequently those left should not weep is the subject of a composition which shows considerable poetical ability. The boy, for whom the inscription is written, is represented as appearing to his mother and telling her that she should not weep. The inscription is too long to give in full, but note in particular the speech of the son to his mother.

- Ll. 15 ff. Adfinis memorande, quid o me ad sidera caeli
ablatum quereris? desine flere deum,
ne pietas ignara superna sede receptum
lugeat et laedet numina tristia.
non ego Tartareas penetrabo tristis ad undas,
non Acheronteis transvehar umbra vadis
non ego caeruleam remo pulsabo carinam
nec te terribilem fronte timebo, Charon,
nec Minos mihi iura dabit grandaevus et artis
non errabo locis nec cohibeor aquis.
surge, refer matri ne me noctes diesque
defleat ut maerens Attica mater Ityn.
Nam me sancta Venus sedes non nosse silentum
iussit et in caeli lucida templa tulit.

The mother replies telling the boy what deity he will become. Many of the references to the gods, as we noted in the previous chapter, are very probably for poetical effect. In spite of this, however, from the general tone of the inscription it is quite evident that the mother believed the boy had gone to another world and uses this as a consolation.

VI. EXPRESSIONS WHICH SHOW A PESSIMISTIC VIEW OF LIFE

In addition to the common-place topics of consolation which we have studied in this chapter there are a number of expressions which throw considerable light upon the view of life of the average Roman and instead of being consolatory in nature and aiding in the alleviation of grief are

¹ See Lier *Phil.* LXII, p. 600.

extremely pessimistic. The most prominent of these, that death frees one from the evils of life, we have observed in connection with the second common-place consolation. The other sentiments of pessimistic tone are as follows:

1. Better for parents never to have children than to have them die.

144 Miseri parentes, qui in spem tollunt filias
si spes decepit, cum viderunt mortuas.

980. 5 Nihil simile aspicias, timeant ventura parentes,
nec nimium matres concupiant parere.

Also 369 contains similar sentiment.

2. Better never to have lived than to have lived and been obliged to die.

78 Inspexi lucem, subito quae erepta est mihi.
ita neque domino liquit e me gaudia
percipere nec me scire quid natus forem.

1145 Non nasci melius fuerat quam nunc indigna iacerent
ossa. cinis facta est iam non responsura parenti.

3. What use to have lived well if you have to die. See Hor. C. i. 28. 4:

Nec quicquam tibi prodest
aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum
percurisse polum morituro.

Ovid *Am.* ii. 6. 17:

Quid tamen ista fides, quid rari forma coloris
quid vox mutandis ingeniosa sonis?

iii. 9. 21:

Quid pater Ismario, quid mater profuit Orpheo?

Propertius iii. 18. 11:

Quid genus aut virtus aut optima profuit illi
mater et amplexam Caesaris esse focus?

Consolatio ad Liviam 41 ff.:

Quid tibi nunc mores prosunt et puriter actum
omne aevum et tanto tam placuisse viro.

Similar sentiments contained in Seneca *Ad Polyb.* iii. 3 and 5 and v. 4; Simonides frg. 1. 6-22; Horace *Carm.* iv. vii. 24; Ovid *Am.* iii. 9. 33 and iii. 9. 37; Lucret. iii. 1025, and *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 740.¹

The following from the metrical inscriptions are of interest:

543 Quid tibi nunc prodest stricte vixisse tot annis?

1066. 5 Quid prodest vixisse in amabilitate facetum
cunctaque blanditiis emeruisse suis?

1132. 4 Heu frustra pietas servasse et foedera lecti.

This sentiment is found in one Christian inscription.

1403. 11 O dolor, humanis frustra spes addita rebus.
frustra doctrinae vincitur arte genus.

¹ See Lier *Philologus* LXII, p. 462, sec. 6, and Mallet *Quaestiones Prop.*, p. 39.

quid te grammaticae iuuit tolerasse labores.
consona rhetoricae verba legisse tubae,
si mors dura ruens pueriles occubat annos
et nutrita diu spes mihi visa perit?

4. Human affairs are vain in view of the fact that we must die.

- 182 Homo tantum in vita possidet quantum utitur.
482 Vana relictæ modo est magnarum fabula rerum
parvaeque fortuna congesta fama laborum.
1092. 3 Credite mortales, astro nato nihil est sperabile datum.¹
1250. 3 Dum vixi, didici quæ mors, quæ vita homini esset,
aeterna unde animæ gaudia percipio.

Similar expressions in Inscriptions 184, 185, 404, 420. 5, 1161, 1340, and 1552. 17-31.

As all on earth is vain Hope and Fortune are sometimes bid farewell. See *Anthol. Pal.* IX. 49, and 134: Ἐλπίς καὶ σὺ Τύχη μέγα χαίρετε. See Inscriptions

409. 8 Actumst, excessi, Spes et Fortuna valete,
nil iam plus in me per saecula licebit.
quod fuerat vestrum amisi, quod erat meum hic est.
1498 Evasi, effugi, Spes et Fortuna valete,
nil mihi vobiscum est, ludificate alios.

In 434, *forma* is substituted for *Fortuna*.

Spes, forma valete,
nil mihi vobiscum est, alios deludite quaeso.

A few inscriptions show a sentiment contrary to the consolation that death frees one from the evils of life; that is, that life on earth is much preferable to the condition after death.

84. 3 Valete ad superos, Vivitis vitam optumam,
si me sequimini. Vixi ego dum volui bene.
85. 3 Iocaris, ludas hortor: hic summa est severitas.
186. Ita tu qui legis
bona vita vive sodalis, quare post obitum nec risus
nec lusus nec ulla voluptas erit.

VII. FRIVOLITY OF EXPRESSION

The lack of seriousness is an extremely peculiar element in many inscriptions. The Epicurean doctrine of a number of the popular poets that life is short and consequently one should have the best time possible while on earth is continually emphasized.

1. The departed is sometimes represented as asking his friends not to weep at his death, but to come together and have a good time. See

¹ See Isid. *Orig.* x. 13 and Manil. *Astron.* iv. 3.

- 190 Adeste amici, fruamur tempus bonum
 epulemur laeti, vita dum parva manet,
 Baccho madentes, hilaris sit concordia.
 eadem fecerunt hi cuncti cum viverent,
 dederunt acceperunt. dum essent fruniti sunt.
 et nos antiquorum emitur tempora.
 vive dum vivis, nec quidem denegaveris
 animo indulgere, quem commodavit deus.
562. 8 Convivae cuncti nunc mi pocula ferte
 diciteque ut semper meo corpori terra levis sit.
856. 12 Amici qui legitis, moneo miscete Lyaeum
 et potate procul redimiti tempora flore
 et veneros coitus formosis ne denegate puellis:
 cetera post obitum terra consumit et ignis.

The deceased often congratulates himself that he ate, drank, and had the best possible time while on earth and his only regret is that the pleasures of life had to cease at death. Those who are left are often advised to get the most out of life.

- 187 Dum vixi, vixi quomodo condecet ingenuom.
 quod comedi et ebibi, tantum meu est.
- 243 Dum vixi, bibi libenter, bibite vos qui vivitis.
484. 5 Postea potiones calcis perduxi libenter,
 multa iuventutis feci, quia sum moriturus.

The deceased rejoices, in one inscription, that he will not become thirsty again.

- 1247 Quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa.
 nec sum sollicitus nec subito esuriam.
 et podigram careo nec sum pensionibus arra
 et gratis aeterno perfuor hospitio.
- 1499 Balnea vina Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra,
 sed vitam faciunt balnea vina Venus.
- 181 Alei in venerieis rebus vitam conterunt,
 mihei contra rite partam Venerem mors rapit.

Inscription 118 is peculiar. The reader is advised to drink cold water if reading the monument makes him angry.

Hospes resiste et nisi molestust, perlege.
 Noli stomocare, Suadeo, caldum bibas,
 moriundust, vale.

Also see Inscriptions 188, 244, 245, 512. 5, and 1318 which contain similar expressions of frivolity.

CHAPTER V

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL¹

In treating of the subject of religion of the Romans in chap. iii and consolations in chap. iv it became necessary to refer at times to statements concerning the idea held regarding the condition after death. This was especially true in connection with the belief in the Manes, Pater Dis, Pluto, and Proserpine in chap. iii, and the solace that there was nothing after death and therefore there was no need to mourn, or the consolation that the departed are happy in the joys of eternal life, as seen in the previous chapter. However, the frequent allusions to the condition after death in the Latin metrical inscriptions warrant a more exhaustive consideration than we have given in connection with the topics named above. Such will be the purpose of this chapter.

There are over 375 references to man's future state found in the metrical inscriptions. Of these nearly three hundred show that the writers were of the opinion that there was an existence beyond the grave. The remaining are divided nearly equally between those who thought that death ended all and those who were sceptical as to a future condition.

I. INSCRIPTIONS WHICH SHOW A BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY

TERMS USED FOR THE SOUL

When we turn our attention to those inscriptions in which the authors show that they believe in a future state of some sort and consider in the first place the terms used for the part of man that is immortal, we find that the words used most frequently for the soul are, *anima*, *animus*, *mens*, *spiritus*, and *vita*.

a) *Anima*.—This word is used most commonly to mean soul. It is employed nearly fifty times with this force which is a derived or secondary meaning of the word, while it is used only about one-half of that number with the primary meaning, breath of life, or vital principle.

For *anima* used to mean soul cf. the following from the popular poets: Hor. *Carm.* i. 10. 17:

Tu pias laetis animas reponis
sedibus virganaque levem coerces

¹ Since writing this chapter a dissertation has been published by G. W. von Bleck, entitled *Quae de Hominum post Mortem Condizione doceant Carmina Sepulcralia Latina*. As I have not been able to secure a copy of that dissertation I do not know whether Mr. von Bleck's views coincide with mine or no.

aurea turbam, superis deorum
gratus et imis.

Ovid *Met.* vii. 612:

Qui lacrimant, desunt, indelectaeque vagantur
natorumque patrumque animae iuvenumque senumque.

Verg. *Aen.* iii. 67:

Animamque sepulchro
condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus.

vi. 669:

Dicite, felices animae tuque optime vates,
quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus?

Note the following from the metrical inscriptions.

No. 98—soul in the earth.

Quot exsprimens dolore fugit anima corpore,
hic quiescit cunis terrae mollibus.

No. 443—soul in the grave.

Sede sub hac parva titulo parvoque tenetur
parva anima, dolor immensus crudelique funus.

No. 552—soul gone to Manes.

L. 11 Corpus mors rapuit, animam derelinquete Manis.

When the term *anima* is used the direction of the soul is generally upward. See

603. 5 Aethereisque auris animam lux alma recepit.
611 Sed mea divina non est itura sub umbras
caelestis anima, mundus me sumpsit et astra,
corpus habet tellus et saxum nomen inane.

No. 1185—soul wanders on earth.

Aut istas sedes nostra subit anima,
sed petat Asurios, petat ille licebit Hiberos,
per mare per terras subsequitur dominum.

Soul diffused into the kindred air.

1206. 5 Corpus habet cineres, animam sacer apstulit aer.
1207 Terra tenet corpus, nomen lapis atque animam aer.

Anima used to mean soul in the following:¹ 91, 98, 143, 405, 423, 802, 975, 995, 1030, 1165, 1183, 1248, 1250, 1257, 1278, 1324, 1326, 1559, 1562.

In the following Christian inscriptions *anima* has a similar meaning: 684, 696, 703, 704, 720, 739, 743, 755, 758, 760, 777, 783, 1362, 1366, 1401, 1420, 1423, 1442, 1443, and 1444. In the majority of Christian inscriptions the destiny of the soul is the sky.

¹ It is useless to give these in full as they will be considered subsequently.

a) *Anima* means the vital principle or breath of life in the following:

56. 6 Mors animam eripuit, non veitae ornatum apstulit.
 436. 9 Cum primum Lucina daret lucemque animamque.
 496 Anima[m] mea[m] rapuerunt fata iniqua.

Also see Inscriptions 213, 607, 656, 708, 731, 841, 856, 1041, 1044, 1076, 1083, 1084, 1186, 1203, 1338, 1432, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1568, and 1607.

b) *Animus*.—The use of *animus* meaning soul is rare. It is nowhere used for *anima*, meaning the vital principle, although, as we have seen, *anima* is frequently used for *animus* meaning soul.

Only three good examples are found of *animus* as soul.¹ See Inscriptions

- 655 Habet eius
 celum animum, acta orbis, pars ergo minor manet istic.
 1300. 10 Corpore deserto quae sociant animos.

In 1559 *Animus* and *anima* are both used to mean soul.

- L. 3 Animus sanctus cum maritost, anima caelo reddita est.

The common meaning of *animus* in the metrical inscriptions is courage, spirit, and sometimes intellect.

82. 10 Aequo animo vive vitam quoad fieri potest.
 97. 5 Verum vexatus animi curis anxiis
 non nullis etiam corporis doloribus
 utrumque ut esset taediosum ultra modum,
 optatam mortem sum potitus.

Also see 68, 95, 99, 134, 190, 204, 305, 328, 371, 480, 483, 537, 582, 698, 704, 734, 748, 787, 796, 850, 959, 1036, and 1285.

c) *Mens* is used to mean soul in ten inscriptions, the majority of which are for Christians.

709. 13 Corde lustrans abdita cuncta vestigia poli
 quamquam arvis gradiens mente aethera pulsat.
 743. 1 Si mentes puras retinent confinia caeli
 Castorius iuvenis sociis nunc heret amatis
 corporeos nexus linquens et vincula vitae.

Anima is used in the same sense in ll. 5 ff.

Sublimes animas nullus putet ire sub umbras,²
 occubat in terris sapiens, sed vivit in auris.

750. 7 Tu tamen hinc spera caelum pia mente fidelis.

In 755 *anima* and *mens* both mean soul.

¹ See Cicero *Tusc. disp.* 5. 13. 38.

² See Verg. *Aen.* vi. 719 and iv. 660.

Corpus humo, animam Christo, Petroni, dedisti,
nam iustae mentes foveantur lucis caelestis,
sidereasque colunt sedes mundoque fruuntur.

In 1300 *mens* and *animus* both mean soul.

Ll. 9 f. Divinae remanent haec viva ligamina mentis
corpore deserto quae sociant animos.

1311 Nam mens aeterna profecto
pro meritis potitur sedibus Elysiis.

Also see Inscriptions 1369, 1394, 1424, 1433, and 1561.

d) *Spiritus* is used for soul in twenty-six inscriptions.

512. 10 At venit postrema dies, ut spiritus inania membra reliquat.

565. 4 O utinam possit reparari spiritus ille
ut sciret quantus dolor est.

743. 9 Et laudes repetit vitae, fit spiritus.¹

Also 591, 662, 674, and 700.

In 760 *spiritus* and *anima* are both found.

Ll. 5 f. Redditus in terra corpus cui vita herebat,
spiritus animaeque mea expecta die ultimo causa.

Also in 656 and 720 *spiritus* and *animus* both are used for soul.

No. 1108 speaks of the destination of spirit as the air.

Quoius ut est lenis patrium diffusus in aer
spiritus, hic mater corpus operata tenet.

No. 1203 contains both *spiritus* and *anima*, the latter being used probably for life and the former for soul.

Vita brevis longo melior mortalibus aevo,
nam parvo spatio floruit haec anima
bis denos perfuncta annos sine crimine morum:
Vita beata fuit, spiritus hic nituit.

1340. 4 Spiritus aethereas ardet adire domos.

In 1559 the soul goes back from whence it came.

Ll. 13 f. Hic corpus vatis Laberi, nam spiritus iuit
illuc unde ortus. Quaeite fontem animae.

It is worthy of notice in this inscription that in l. 3 *animus* and *anima* are both used for the soul. The destination is the sky.

Animus sanctus cum maritost, anima caelo reddita est.

In No. 1612 soul returns to nature.

L. 13 Reddito naturae spiritum, iam desidero nihil.

Spiritus is used also to mean soul in Inscriptions 1347, 1392, 1425, 1530, and 1834. With the exception of 565, 1559, and 1612 given previously the soul is conceived of as going up.

¹ *Mentes* and *animae* also used in this composition for spirit. See p. 99.

Spiritus is used to mean breath of life in Inscriptions 55, 89, 115, 457, 1150, 1432, 1604, and 1617.

e) *Vita* for soul is found in three inscriptions.

- 590 In cineres corpus et in aethra vita soluta est.
 1338 Hic mea mens simul est, simul hic mea vita sepulta.
 1339 Vita subit caelum, corpus tellure tenetur.

II. DESTINATION OF THE DECEASED

Different places are proposed by the writers of the Latin metrical inscriptions where the departed spirit exists after death. In some instances the theory advanced many times by Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* that the soul goes upward is advocated. The spirit is conceived of as in the sky, the aether, the stars, or the celestial regions. Many follow the more poetical and mythological conception. In spite of the statement of Cicero that no one believes in the tales of the poets regarding the dog Cerberus, the old man Chairon, or the kingdoms of Pluto, nevertheless in many compositions the departed are considered as dwelling in the kingdoms of Dis, the Elysian fields, the Stygian regions, Orcus, or even Tartarus. As in the case of particular gods, which we considered in chap. iii, it is likely that many of these references are simply for poetical effect. In addition to these the deceased is regarded as being with the gods, as existing in the tomb, or living in a shadowy, ghostlike form either in the land of the shades or on earth.

Let us now turn to a detailed consideration of each of these conceptions.

A. GONE TO THE SKY, STARS, AETHER, OR CELESTIAL REGIONS

- 544B Ac tribus est data nunc requies et in aethere sedes
 cuncta super caeli.
 655 Urna Valentium haud totum tegit haec: habet eius
 caelum animum, acta orbis: pars ergo minor manet istic.
 1257. 7 Contra anima emissa ad superos assurgit in auras,
 me sepelit florens vere novo tumulus.

Also in Inscriptions 1339 and 1535 spirit of deceased is regarded as in the sky.

Inscription 1559 which we have previously considered in reference to the use of the words *animus*, *anima*, and *spiritus* presents a difficulty. In l. 3 there is the statement that the soul of the departed has gone to the sky.

Animus sanctus cum maritost, anima caelo reddita est.

In ll. 13 and 14 of the same composition we are informed that the spirit has returned to the place from whence it came.

Hic corpus vatis Laberi, nam spiritus ivit
illuc unde ortus. Quaerite fontem animae.

From the character of this composition it is very likely that it was made from numerous expressions and this would account for the lack of harmony of the two ideas. We have seen several examples of this inconsistency of expression in chap. ii.

Inscription 1109, which has been quoted on p. 93 of the preceding chapter, is worthy of notice. The mother tells of a vision of heaven in which her boy appears to her and advises her not to weep as he has escaped the floods of Tartarus and is happy in the sky.

Gone to the stars.—

569. 6 Non tamen ad Manes sed caeli ad sidera pergis.
696. 6 Cum pia iubente deo anima migravit ad astra.
1062 In terris cineres alius locus, hic habet ossa
effigies vaga per sidera sic colitur.

Also 1140. 11 and 1420 regard departed as in stars.

Inscription 1061 is of interest. First we have the statement that the little girl for whom the composition is written has gone to Elysium. The writer then, as if it were an afterthought, asks if she has not gone to the stars.

- Ll. 8 f. Dulcis ad Elysios rapit repente lacus
dilecta ante alios, multum defleta cunctis,
Vestina infantum Clodia sola decus,
hic posita: an superas convisit luminis auras
innocua aeternis condita sideribus?

Gone to heaven, aether.—See Ovid *Ex Ponto* iv. 13. 26:

Nam patris Augusti docui mortale fuisse
corpus, in aetherias numen abisse domos.

See Buech.

- 590 Zoticus hic nomen nudum vanumque reliquit,
in cineres corpus et in aethera vita soluta est.
1340 Spiritus aetherias ardet adire domos.
1530B. 1 Ibis in optatas sedes, nam Iuppiter aethram
pandit, Feste, tibi candidus, ut venias
iamque venis: tendit dextras chorus inde deorum,
et toto tibi plauditur ecce polo.

The soul is sometimes regarded as diffused in the air or aether.

1108. 2 Quoius ut est lenis patrium diffusus in aer
spiritus, hic mater corpus operta tenet.
1206. 5 Corpus habet cineres, animam sacer abstulit aer.
1207 Terra tenet corpus, nomen lapis, atque animam aer.

Celestial regions.—The references to the celestial regions are found almost entirely in Christian inscriptions. See

- 671 Confessus Christum caelestia regna petisti.
- 676 Palma celestia regna tenentes.
- 712 Fulgida regna petens, caelesti sorte vocatus
lucis et aetheriae penitrens fastigia laetus.

Similar sentiments are contained in Inscriptions 591, 686, 715, 720, 722, 726, 737, 745, 772, 788, 789, 795, 858, 1385, and 1400.

Statements that the departed spirit has gone to the stars, the sky, or the aether, heaven, are very common in Christian inscriptions. As our attention is mainly directed to the ideas of immortality held by the Romans who were pagans it will be necessary to pass these with but an enumeration of the compositions which contain such ideas regarding the destination of the deceased.

Gone to the sky.—Christian, 308, 662, 671, 681, 697, 705, 734, 740, 748, 750, 757, 782, 1354, 1359, 1368, 1371, 1387, 1389, 1394, 1434, 1441, and 1444.

Gone to stars.—Christian, 300, 306, 667, 668, 674, 679, 688, 691, 692, 696, 701, 1345, 1362, 1363, 1378, 1392, 1401, 1407, 1412, 1420, 1425, and 1433.

Gone to the aetherial regions.—Christian, 670, 704, 781, 1366, 1367, 1393, 1422, and 1437.

A few expressions concerning immortality are found in the Christian inscriptions which show influence of paganism that are worthy of note.

Inscription 726 speaks of heaven as the kingdom of Olympus.

Vivat in aetherio felix per secula senatu
luce fruatur ovans, regno laetetur Olympi.

Also 758:

Hoc tumulo Baioli conduntur membra sepulti,
sed pollens anima praeclaro manebit Olympi.

No. 743 contains feeling of doubt regarding the destination of the soul.

Si mentes puras retinent confinia caeli,
Castorius iuvenis sociis nunc heret amatis
corporeos nexus linquens et vincula vitae.

Often in Christian inscriptions it is a cause of congratulation that the deceased has escaped the regions of Tartarus, or the places beneath, and is now safe in the stars, sky, or heaven. See

- 301. 8 Tartaream solus potuit qui vincere mortem
invectus caelo solusque inferre triumphum.
- 751. 3 Quae vitam pro morte tulit neque Tartara foeda
vidit et ad dulcis paradisos nunc aditura
ut speravit.

Similar sentiments are to be found in Inscriptions 701, 760, 773, 1355, 1360, and 1379. This is found in pagan inscriptions as well. See p. 108 of this chapter.

Gone to the gods, deified.—The theory that the departed spirit has gone to dwell with the gods is advocated in a few inscriptions.

This belief is commonly expressed by the Greek writers. See Lier *Phil.* LXII, sec. 39, pp. 598–600. See Kaibel 268, 340. 8, 153, 366, 471; Homer *o* 245, Plut. *Consol. ad Apoll.* 111 B, and 119 E.

- Buech. 418 Attica dis data sum turba comitata meorum.
Roma mihi tellus, genus inde, set hospita sedes.
975 Corpore consumpto viva anima deus sum.
1048 Et quicumque suis sincere praestat honorem
felicem cursum perferat ad superos.
1277 Functus honorato senio plenusque dierum
evocor ad superos.

Also see Inscriptions 94, 1288, and 1560B. 5 ff.

In No. 1358, a Christian inscription, we have

Parcite vos lacrimis dulces cum coniuge natae
viventem deo credite flere nefas.

B. ELYSIUM, KINGDOM OF DIS, PROSERPINE, TARTARUS, LETHE, STYGIAN REGIONS, ETC.

Many compositions show the influence of the Greek and Roman poets. The departed are conceived of as happy in Elysium, with Queen Proserpine or in the kingdom of Dis. In some instances they are even regarded as in the Stygian regions, Lethe, Tartarus, or Orcus. At other times the writers are less specific and designate the land of departed spirits as the shores beyond or the regions below. It is impossible to decide in every instance whether the writer actually believed in the existence of these places. The tone of many inscriptions leads one to the conclusion that often they did not and that such references are only for poetical effect.

Let us now turn to the references to the various places of destination for the deceased.

Elysium.—

- 393 Elysios precor ut possis invadere campos
matromque colas Ditis Ditemque preceris,
det sedes ut honoratas meritoque recessus.
394 Implesti pia vota: peracto tempore vitae
felix Elysiis, merito levis umbra moraris.
492. 11 Hanc precor Elysiis iubeas consistere campis
et myrta redimere comas et tempora flore.¹

¹ Notice that this inscription contains reference to Dis, l. 3, and to the Manes, l. 8.

1188. 3 Hanc fratres pietate pari maestique sororem
sedibus Elysiis condiderunt tumulo.
1262. 5 Numina nunc inferna, precor patri date lucos
in quis purpureo perpetuusque dies.¹
1198. 15 Ad placidas quem di sedes curisque vocarunt
immunes: nostris ossibus urna satis est.²

Similar statements that the deceased has gone to Elysium occur in the following inscriptions: 432, 435, 498, 525, 555, 588, 1061, 1111, 1143, 1165, 1189, 1200, 1233, 1311, 1326, 1465, 1515, 1550, and 1552. 1-4.

When the deceased was regarded as dwelling in Elysium it is to be noticed that he was conceived of as in a joyful and happy state of existence. The allusions to Tartarus, the house of Dis, Orcus and such regions, however, are of a different nature. These are places looked upon as dark and cheerless regions. It is also to be noticed that compositions which contain such references usually give evidence of greater regret on account of death and the condition of the departed.

Kingdom of Dis.—

- 442 O Fortuna, fidem quantam mutasti maligne:
quem genuit genetrix secum tenet in lare Ditis.
501 Hisce locis Flori requiescunt ossa sepulta,
aetatis primae, miserando funere raptō
Ditis ad infernas sedes lucosque piorum.
1117 Si pietas prodest quiquam, vixisse modeste,
vos precor, o Manes, sit mihi terra levis
Libertas cui iam fuerat promissa, set ante
Ditis sub fatum venit in arbitrium.

The country of Dis particularly was regarded as a dark and cheerless region.

- 1148 Omnia Ditis habet praeterquam nomen eorum,
nec comitem nati me sinit esse mei.
1828 Perveni in tenebras Ditisque ad Tartara praiceps
e luce ereptus tristis per funera mortis.
1219 Viginti duo erant anni, si fata dedissent,
cum me florentem rapuit sibi Ditis ad umbras
abripuit dirae sortis iniqua dies.
1534B Florente aetate depressere veneficae.
mensesque quinq. et annum cum aegrotaverit,
abreptam aetate in inferi Ditis specus.

Also see Inscriptions 55, 104, 136, 253, 393, 492, 513, 547, 960, 1031, 1034, 1066, 1178, 1219, 1551C, 1552, and 1829. It is quite probable in many instances that Dis is but a personification for death. See discussion of Dis in chap. iii, p. 61.

¹ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 640 ff.

² Elysium is not specified by name in this inscription but doubtless is implied.

The place inhabited by the spirits of the deceased was in some instances associated with Proserpine.

422 Hoc ego sum tumulo Marcianus redditus aevo,
non dum Persephonen sperabam visere regna.¹

No. 492 contains a prayer to the queen of Dis that the deceased may enjoy the pleasures of Elysium.

Ll. 3 ff. Regna Ditis magni regis precor hoc te—
nam meruit haec multa suis pro laudibus a me—
inmeritae propere solventem fila dearum,
quae globo Parcarum revoluta cuncta gubernant.

527 Iste mihi coix in tristia Tartara abit nunc
qui fine annorum sacra Prosperine dedit.

Proserpine is considered responsible for death in a few instances. See Inscriptions 1128, 1161, and 1301. See chap. iii, p. 62.

As stated above, these lower regions of Tartarus, etc., are regarded as dark cheerless regions.

434. 11 Nunc vero infernas sedes Acherontis ad undas
tetraque Tartarei per sidera tendo profundi.

The author of this inscription has very probably confused the idea of going to the stars with that of Tartarus as one's final destination.

In Inscription 428 the spirit of the deceased is regarded as in the tomb as well as in the regions beneath the earth.

Ll. 6 ff. Cui Proculus cognomen erat, nunc umbra nec umbra
subter humum positus mortis tegor ecce sepulcro
nec minus et contra genetricis fratre creatus—
quattuor hic annis exs quadriginta diebus
maior in aeternam mersit sua lumina noctem—
hic meus ut frater Stabiano litore mecum
conditur, in tenebris Acherontis labitur undis.
nunc tibi ne gravis sit, felix quicumque viator,
dicere: si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes
Antoni et Proculi molliter ossa cubent.

527 Iste mihi coix in tristia Tartara abit nunc.

1386 Hoc merita adsequitur fratrum monumento,
Tartareos qui mox vidit et ipse locos.

Also see Inscriptions 434, 456, 549, 562, 576B, and 619. In these the deceased is regarded as in Tartarus.

Stygian regions.—

474. 6 Postea cum sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam,
ante diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton.

¹ Cf. Horace *Carm.* ii. 13. 21:

Quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae
et iudicantem vidimus Aeacum.

523. 4 Ingeminans Stygias miserum dimisit ad umbras.¹
 960. 7 Nunc data sum Diti longum mansura per aëum
 deducta et fatali igne et aqua Stygia.
 1187. 3 Roma tibi genus est, fatum fuit ut Libys esses,
 duceris ad Stygiam nunc miserande ratem.
 1223. 6 Omnes aequè rapit Ditis acerba manus.
 et vos per Stigias portabit portitor undas
 cum vitam Parcae linquent et stamina Clotho.²
 1552. 38 Nunc ego non dubitem tacitis Acherontos in umbris
 si post fata manent sensus, gaudere parentem
 saepe, Secunde.
 L. 55 Permittant mihi fata loqui noctisque timendae
 regnator Stygius.

Also there is a reference to Elysium in l. 3.

Mergat et Elysiis mortalia corpora terris.

Similar statements that the deceased has gone to the Stygian region are found in Inscriptions 198, 995. 17, 1005. 9, 1150, 1212, 1278, 1305, and 1549. 13.

Orcus.—A few compositions refer to the place for deceased spirits as *Orcus*.

- 1202 Orbem sub leges si habeas dum vivis, ad Orcum
 quid valet? hic nulla est divitis ambitio.³
 1581. 8 Hic tamen in biennio vixit quasi qui vixisset sedecim annis,
 talis enim sensus erat illi quasi properantis ad Orcum.

The place for departed spirits is sometimes called *Lethe*.

- 218 Aetate abacta virgini
 Speudusa Lethen incolis.
 1551C Et prior at Lethen cum sit Pomptilla recepta.
 1567 Oppi, ne metuas Lethen, nam stultum est, tempore et omni
 nunc mortem metuas, amittere gaudia vitae.

Also see Inscriptions 1187 and 1305.

In a few compositions the writer does not indicate any specific place to which the spirit of the deceased has departed, as *Elysium*, the kingdom of

¹ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 770 ff.:

Tum pater omnipotens, aliquem indignatus ab umbris
 mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere vitae,
 ipse repertorem medicinae talis et artis
 fulmine Phoebigenam Stygias detrussit ad undas.

Ovid *Met.* iii. 694:

Praecipitem famuli rapite hunc, cruciataque diris
 corpora tormentis Stygiae demittite nocti.

² See Hor. *Carm.* ii. 14. 10 and ii. 3. 27. See discussion of common-place solace, "Death common to all," chap. iv, pp. 77 ff.

³ Cf. Hor. *Carm.* iv. 7. 21.

Dis, Stygian regions, or Tartarus. The destination of the soul is indicated as the land below, the region beneath the earth, or the shores beyond.

- 514 Primus mihi nomen erat, dum vita manebat.
Regna infra caeli fraudatus luce quiesco.
1537. 5 Pervenere diem meae crudelia Fata
et raptam inferna me posuere ratem.
- 1031 Si qua manent obitis vitae sine fraude peractae
praemia sub terris, haec Amaryllis habet,
iudicat id coniunx, erepta qua sibi maerens
devovet invisi noxia regna dei.
- 1162 Nomine Grusoglosus, amabilis utque erat infans,
flebilis et misere raptus ad inferias.
86. 2 Nullum dolorem ad inferos mecum tuli.
1033. 7 Sis precor inferis minus invidiosa sub umbris,
Terpsichorenis tellus contegat ossa levis.
1204. 5 Infernae, vobis commendo virtute sanctam.
- 811 Iam spes externis semper committimus oris.

The statement which we observed many times in the Christian inscriptions that the soul of the departed has not gone to the region below but has escaped that place is found as well in the pagan. (See p. 104.)

- 609 Non clausa in tumultu requiescunt ossa sepulcro
istius nunc iuenis nec corpus morte sacratum
cessit at infernos. . . .
- 611 Sed mea divina non est itura sub umbras
caelestis anima.
1109. 19 Non ego Tartareas penetrabo tristis ad umbras.
- 1515 Iam te non Tartara crudelem tenebunt,
set Elysium campus occupavit.
- 1535 Aurae etulere parvolum superae Pium
accesit astris, Tartari fugit domos.

C. GRAVE AS DESTINATION FOR THE DEPARTED

A number of compositions show that there was a very common belief prevalent that the soul lived in the grave. The frequent occurrence of the expression, *Sit tibi terra levis*, which we considered in connection with the common-place expressions in chap. ii, and the numerous references to the Manes existing in the tomb considered in chap. iii demonstrate this fact as well as the attention given to the tomb and the statement found many times that the tomb is the eternal home, seat, or resting-place.

- 57 Domicilium fecit vivos aeternum hoc sibi
ratus hospitium esse, quod natura tradidit.
- 72 Post vitam honestam aeternam deveni domum.
428. 6 Cui Proculus cognomen erat, nunc umbra nec umbra
subter humum positus mortis tegor ecce sepulchro.

- 1022 Hic mihi sunt sedes aeterna pace colendae
ossaque dilectae coniugis hic recubent.

Also see Inscriptions 59. 18, 473. 3, 542, 1029, 1036. 3, 1038, 1039, 1204, 1256, 1269, 1302, 1323, 1324, 1329, 1488, 1497, and 1538. See chap. iv, p. 91.

D. UMBRA, SHADE AND THE REGION OF THE SHADES

The departed spirit is sometimes conceived of as existing in a ghostlike form either in the region of the shades, in the tomb, or on the earth. See Hor. *Carm.* iv. 7. 15:

Quo pater Aeneas, quo Tellus dives et Ancus
Pulvis et umbra sumus.

Verg. *Aen.* iv. 660:

Dixit et ossa impressa toro, "moriemur inultae
sed moriamur," ait: "sic sic iuvat ire sub umbras."

The shades are generally regarded as existing in the tomb or in the lower world. No reference is found where they ascend to the stars or sky, as the soul was supposed to do.

- 53 Rogat ut resistas, hospes, te hic tacitus lapis,
dum ostendit quod mandavit, quous umbra[m] tegit.
391. 5 Corpus quod vixit, facta est vindi levis umbra.
395 Secreti Manes qui regna Acherusia Ditis
incolitis, quos parva petunt post lumina vite
exiguus cinis et simulacrum corporis umbra.
1186. 9 Sperebam rate infernas subito delatus ad umbras,
bis septem placidos annos et adhuc formatus in unum.

Ll. 11 ff. of this composition contain allusions to the characters which were represented by the poets as inhabiting the land of the shades:

- Illa tamen sancta et formata verecundia saepe
amittit Tantalum aspectu[m] et timorem Sisyphi
abest Ixion umbraeque et Furiae metus
set in secessum numinis infernae domus
officiosus tandem ministerio laetatur suo.
1214. 5 Immaturus abit primaevae flore sub umbras,
non dilecta magis quo mihi vita fuit.
1256. 4 Vos precor hoc, superi, ut vitam post me servetis amicis,
et possint nostris Bacchum miscere favillis,
floribus ut spargant saepius umbra[m] levem.

See also 99, 399, 430. 7, 503, 523, 969. 7, 1039, 1174, 1219, 1278, 1467, 1552. 38, and 1844.

Deceased does not go to shades.

- 611 Sed mea divina non est itura sub umbras,
caelestis anima.

- 743 Si mentes puras retinent confinia caeli,
 Castorius iuensis sociis nunc heret amatis
 corporeos nexus linquens et vincula vitae.
 aeternas sedes meruit complecti piorum,
 sublimes animas nullus putat ire sub umbras.

Two Christian inscriptions contain references to the shades.

- 723 Quisq. legis titulum, lacrimas effunde frequentes.
 Hic situs est iuensis pietate inlustris
 ecclesiasq. petit securus marturis umbra.
 1448. 7 Post mancipatur larvis umbrisque traditur imis
 quo funus squalebat, ara sacra micat.

The spirit of the deceased is conceived of as wandering upon earth or cognizant of the affairs of life in a few inscriptions.

1098. 3 At viridi requiesce viator in herba
 neu fuge si tecum coeperit umbra loqui.
 1223. 10 Sique voles semper dulci me voce vocare
 ad superos iterum vivam te sospite semper,
 nec tu nunc, genetrix, tristis sic fata lacesse
 sed potius optes mihi quietos optima Manes
 spargas adque mero tumulum mihi in aevo.

Spirit of the slave will follow master over land and sea.

- 1185 Nec tamen aut illi supter crudelia busta
 aut istas sedes nostra subit anima,
 sed petat Asurios, petat ille licebit Hiberos,
 per mare per terras subsequitur dominum.


The deceased who were actors expect to hear the applause of the multitude.

- 1510 Hic Phoebus fuit, hic superbus Euhan.
 Plaude istis, popolare volgus, umbris.
 1516. 15 Quisque hic cum lacrimis deum rogabis
 dextrum funde preces super sepulcrum:
 nulli incognitus et legendus orbi
 illic Sidonius tibi invocetur.

Inscription 1109 tells how the spirit of the dead child comes to the mother and entreats her not to weep.

- Ll. 9 ff. Vidi sidereo radiantem lumine formam
 aethere delabi, non fuit illa quies,
 sed verus iuueni color et sonus, et status ipse
 maior erat nota corporis effigie.

Not only in the examples given above, but it is quite probable that where the inscription is in the second person and the one left is represented as addressing the deceased that the latter was conceived of as in some degree cognizant of affairs on earth.¹

¹ See discussion in chap. i of inscriptions addressed to the deceased. See Inscriptions 572 and 1552.  The deceased rejoice because their friends erected monuments to them.

It was often a question in the mind of the writer if the departed knew of the happenings upon earth.¹ See

1102. 5 Si datur extinctis mentem retinere priorem,
respice, Pirroni, munus amicitiae.
1147. 3 Nunc si quid Manes sapiunt, in mollibus umbris
conprecor ut matris sit tibi gratus honos.
1200. 5 Quod si qua ad Manes poterit descendere fama,
magnus honos campis te manet Elysiis.
1339. 7 Suspice nunc coniunx, si quis post funera sensus,
debita sacratis Manibus officia.

The fact that those left are asked not to disturb the dead by weeping shows the departed were thought to be cognizant of the affairs on earth. This idea is commonly expressed by the writers of antiquity.² See Plato *Menex.* 248B; Euripides frg. 510; Kaibel 151; *Consol. ad Liv.* 467; Tacitus *Agricola*, chap. 46; Seneca *Consol. ad Marc.* iii. 4 and *Consol. ad Polyb.* v. 1; Tibullus i. 1. 67; Ovid *Fasti* ii. 505; Propertius iv. 2. 1; Horace *Carm.* ii. 9. 9, and Stat. *Silv.* v. 1. 179 and ii. 6. 96. Note the following of the metrical inscriptions.

- 679 Nec reor hunc lacrimis fas est urgere beatum
corporis exutus vinculis qui gaudet in astris.
963. 11 Sed tu, adulescens, quem Phrygia edidit tellus,
desiste lamenteis me exciere.
995B. 19 Parce tuam, coniux, fletu quassare iuventam
fataque maerendo sollicitare mea.
1198. 11 At vos hoc primum perculsi vulnere manes
parcite iam luctu sollicitare meos.

That there is no return for the dead is found in one inscription.

1212. 5 Crudeles divi, Stygias quicunque paludes
incolitis, nulli qua datur ire retro.

In this same inscription those left are told not to weep.

- Ll. 13 ff. His ergo mea dicta refer: desistat humatam
ulterius lachrumis sollicitasse suis;
sum defleta natis, finem decet esse dolori;
qui semel occubuit nulla querella iuuat.

III. CONDITION OF THE DECEASED AFTER DEATH

The departed are either regarded as happy in the everlasting joys and perpetual bliss of such places as the stars or Elysium, or they are considered as unhappy in the regions of gloom and misery, Tartarus, the Stygian land, or the home of Dis.

¹ For additional examples see discussion of skepticism in belief in immortality on p. 115 of this chapter.

² See Lier *Phil.* LXIII, p. 56, also cf. chap. iv, p. 83, consolation regarding vanity of tears, in this dissertation.

First, let us turn to those in which the deceased are regarded as happy.¹

495 Castorea fratris sub imagine quos generavit
digna quidem frui perpetua de luce benigna
sed celerat quo nos fata benigna vocant.

1274 Nunc careo poenis, pace fruor placida.²

Similar sentiment is contained in Inscriptions 1100. 9 and 1250.

No. 1262 is of interest. The writer offers a prayer to the deities of the lower regions that they may give happiness to the parent who has departed.

Ll. 5 f. Numina nunc inferna precor; patri data lucos
in quis purpureus perpetuusque dies.

Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 640:

Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

Second, a number of compositions state that the deceased instead of enjoying a happy condition after death are existing in a place of great gloom and misery. A few references to this idea have previously been given in connection with the destination of the spirit to Father Dis, the Stygian regions, or Tartarus. The common expression considered in chap. ii, p. 40, that one has left the light at death, very probably derived its source from this idea as well as the common-place that the departed was miserable after death.

This is commonly found among the Greek and Latin writers.³ See Vergil *Aen.* iv. 25:

Vel pater omnipotens abigat me fulmine ad umbras,
pallentis umbras Erebro noctemque profundam
ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.

Vergil *Georg.* iv. 472:

At cantu commotae Erebi de sedibus imis
umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum.

Ovid *Met.* xiv. 725:

Non tamen ante tui curam cessisse memento
quam vitam; geminaque simul mihi luce carendum.

The following metrical inscriptions are of interest.

¹ See Kaibel *Epigr. Graec.* 320, 651, and 570; Plut. *Consol. ad Apoll.* 114D; Seneca *Consol. ad Marc.* xxv. 3; *ad Polyb.* ix. 3; *ad Liv.* 467; Pindar *Ol.* ii. 66 ff.

² See common-place expression, "Rest in peace," chap. i.

³ Lier in discussing the common-place topic death compared to night gives the following references which indicate the place for the departed to be a gloomy region: Homer *Λ* 356, *Ε* 310, *Χ* 466; Aesch. *Sept.* 310; Soph. *Ajax* 660; *A. P.* xii. 50; vii. 389; vii. 466; Kb. 372, 8; Catull. v. 4; Horat. *C. i.* 28. 15; *i. 4.* 16, and *i. 24.* 5; Prop. ii. 15. 23; Homer *π* 672, *Σ* 231 and 482, and *Λ* 241.

85. 3 Iocaris, ludas hortor: hic summa est severitas.
 186 Ita tu qui legis
 bona vita vive sodalis, quare post obitum nec risus
 nec lusus nec ulla voluptas erit.
 398 Quae nodum septem compleverat annos,
 quae caruit luce et tenebris se miscuit atris.¹
 545 Te mihi, Glycerium, fors abstulit funere duro,
 mersit in aeternam extincto corpore noctem.²

Also see 428, 496, 1041, 1084. 5, 1180, and 1181. 3. No. 660 is a Christian inscription.

Tristis Anatasio Constantia carmina scribit
 coniunx, qui lucem tenebris mutavit amaris.

The manner of life on earth was often supposed to determine the condition after death. If the deceased lived piously and honestly he would be worthy of eternal life and a peaceful and happy existence.³

- 435 Hi sancte coluere deos vixereque honeste,
 post obitum Elysios ut possent visere campos.
 816 Dii, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet,
 persolvat dignas grates et praemia reddat.
 1290 Ultima ter denos ac tres mi annos tulit aetas,
 cara viro vixi, morior ut placide.

Also see Inscriptions 94, 129, 130, 131, 433, 492, 495. 5, 525, 543, 991, 1031, 1048, 1233. 13, and 1560.⁴

This thought that in the life beyond the grave there will be a reward for the manner one lived on earth is very common in Christian inscriptions. See

712. 15 Ast hinc celsa poli capiens iam praemia felix
 sanctorum socius fruitur cum laude coronam.
 743 Aeternas sedes meruit complecti piorum.

Also 662, 665, 681, 688, 696, 713, 735, 749, 769, 777, 778, 787, 858, 1395, 1346, 1354, 1362, 1371, 1382, 1385, 1394, 1425, 1427, and 1436.

Those who remain often express the hope that they will be united with their friends and loved ones who have died in the land inhabited by the spirits of the departed.⁵

111. 38 His nunc adeptis maesta coniunx maceror
 felix, maritum si superstitem mihi

¹ Similar expression in 503. 2.

² See *Aen.* x. 746 and xii. 310.

³ Lier *Philol.* LXII, p. 598, sec. 39, shows that this is a common-place among Greek and Latin writers. Also see Kaibel *Epigr. Graec.* 546. 13, 340. 8, 153, and 366.

⁴ See discussion of common-place expressions, *pro meritis, merito*, etc., chap. ii, p. 47.

⁵ Cf. article by Lier *Phil.* LXII, p. 464.

- divi dedissent, sed tamen felix, tua
quia sum fuique postque mortem mox ero.
- 150 Mater rogat quam primum ducatis se ad vos.
- 496 Discedens, dic; Zmyrna vale, iterum te repetemus in anno.
613. 7 Et nos optamus ad vos properare parentes.
1208. 4 Deponam luctus cum te sequar, care, per umbras.

In addition to those given see 151, 155, 420. 21, 430. 5, 473. 8, 513, 739, 1045, 1225, 1214. 11, 1230, 1265, 1338, 1385, and 1443B.

It is commonly stated that one survives after death because the memory of his life is retained. He lives, as it were, in the minds of his relatives and friends. This sentiment is commonly expressed by the Roman poets. Such is the tone of Horace *Carmina* iii. 30:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius, etc.

Ovid *Trist.* iii. 7. 50:

Me tamen extincto fama superstes erit,
dumque suis septem victrix de montibus orbem
prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar.

A similar desire is expressed by Ovid at the close of the *Metamorphoses*.
Met. xv. 870 ff:

Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.
cum volet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius
ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aevi:
parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
astra ferar, nomenque erit indelibile nostrum.
quaque patet domitis Roma potentia terris,
ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
si quid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.

See Ovid *Amor.* iii. 15. 20:

Post mea mansurum fata superstes opus.

See the following metrical inscriptions:

- 499 Hoc tumulo, Pontiane, iaces, secure laborum,
cuius apud superos semper pia fama feretur.
- 650 Digna memoratu clueat per saecula fama
- 1337 Vixisti in teneris annis gravitate magistra
et stupuere nouum tempora parva senem.
Nil brevis ergo dies, nil mors detraxit acerva,
at laudem crescit paruula vita tibi.
1376. 5 Hic sunt membra quidem, sed famam non tenet urna.
- L. 15 O quantum bene gesta valent, cum membra recedunt,
nescit fama mori lucida vita manet.

Also see 56, 400, 437, 480, 545, 577, 593, 594, 598, 610, 618, 621, 922,

978, 1085, 1086, 1095, 1103, 1237, 1251, 1254, 1298, 1300, 1551, 1552. 55-61, and 1604.

In a number of inscriptions the departed is not only conceived of as existing in reputation here on earth, but his spirit is also regarded as living in the land beyond the grave. See

525 Nunc campos colis Elysios herbasque virentes
floribus asparsus iaces ex pratalibus arvis
nec minus et luce frueris, cum fama supersit.

603 Aethereisque auris animam lux alma recepit,
hunc titulum feci Philotechnus coiugi sanctae,
nomen eius fas est restare semper in aevom.

In No. 655 the spirit dwells in the sky as well as exists in fame.

Celum animum, acta orbis, pars ergo minor manet istic.

In No. 1043 the spirit has gone to the Manes and lives in fame.

Functa iaces hic, sed vivis vivesque Secundo
Laelia tuo, debent nec benefacta mori.
Te Tellus, sanctosque precor pro coniugis, Manes,
vos ite placidi, tu levis ossa tegas.

In 1111 the deceased lives in Elysium and in fame, in 1190, 1273, and 1339 with the Manes and in reputation, and in 1278 he has gone to the shades, as well as living in the minds of those left.

A number of the Christian inscriptions contain the sentiment that one survives by virtue of reputation. See

659 Nescit fama mori, sed semper vivit ubique.

904 Sed crevit titulis factus de consule martyr,
cui vivit semper morte creatus honore.

Also see 696, 699, 1375, 1381, 1396, 1411, and 1424.

DOUBT CONCERNING THE CONDITION OF THE DEPARTED

It is not remarkable that a feeling of uncertainty regarding the condition of the departed often prevailed. This idea was taught constantly by the Roman poets and philosophers.

Ovid *Am.* iii. 9. 59:

Si tamen e nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra
restat.

Propertius iv. 6. 83:

Nigras si quid sapis inter harenas.

Ovid *Tristia* iv. 10. 85:

Si tamen extinctis aliquid nisi nomina restat.

Ex Ponto ii. 2. 98:

Si quid habet sensus umbra deserta.

i. 2. 113:

Si superest aliquis post funera sensus.

Cicero *Ep. ad fam.* iv. 5. 6: Si qui etiam infernis sensus est; Seneca *Dial.* xi. 5. 2: Quid itaque iuvat dolori intabescere, si quis defuncti sensus erit finire frater tuus cupet; xi. 92: Nam si nullus defunctis sensus superet, evasit omnia frater meus vitae incommoda; and x. 18. 5: Si quis infernis sensus est. Also see Statius *Theb.* xii. 214; *Consol. ad Liviam* 462; and Lier *Phil.* LXIII, pp. 55 ff.

From the metrical inscriptions note the following:¹

- 179 Bene adquiescas, Hilara, si quid sapiunt inferi.
tu nostri memento, nos numquam obliviscemur tui.
- 366 Si quid mortui habent, hoc mecum erit, certera liqui.
- 1028. 5 Opto, si qua fides remanet Telluris amicae
sit tibi perpetuo terra levis tumulo.
- 1102. 5 Si datur extinctis mentem retinere priorem
respice, Birroni, munus amicitiae.

Also see 98, 180, 192, 428, 433. 7, 475, 476, 496, 545, 816, 1031, 1339, 1538, 1552. 39, 1553, and 1555.

This feeling of uncertainty regarding the life after death is found as well in a few inscriptions composed by those who were believers in the Christian faith.

- 698. 4 Si magna patronis
martyribus quaerenda quies, sanctissimus ecce
cum sociis paribusque suis Vincentius ambit
hos aditos servatque domum dominumque tuetur
a tenebris lumen praebens de lumine vero.
- 701 Si mentis virtus lucisque serenior usus
defuncto in Christo revenit, non Tartara sentit
Cymeriosque lacus, meritis post fata superstis
funeris et legem perimens terraeque sepulcris.
astra tenet nescitque mori sic luce relicta.

Also 743, 781, and 1360.

ANNIHILATION AFTER DEATH

The composers of about forty-five inscriptions appear to have been of the opinion that death ended all. See

- 204 Omnes mortui idem sapimus.
- 214 Nil mali ubi nil est.

¹ Inscriptions 132, 502, 581, 1027, 1057, 1147, 1190, 1323, 1328, 1200, 1251, and 1551 have been discussed in chap. iii in connection with doubt concerning the belief in the existence of the Manes, consequently we shall not give them above.

- 389 Hic ego secure iaceo consumpta per ignes.
et tu mortalem te sic natum esse memento.
- 801 Quid sumus aut loquimur, vita est quid denique nostra?
vel modo nobiscum vixit homo, nunc homo non est.
stat lapis et nomen tantum, vestigia nulla.
856. 15 Cetera post obitum terra consumit et ignis.
- 1049 Desine mirari, corpus inane iacet.
- 1493 Ulterius nihil est morte neque utilius.

Or that there was nothing but ashes.

- 403 Nomen erat puero Pagus, at nunc funus acerbum
et cinis in tumulis iacet et sine nomine corpus.
- 409 Miles eram, sum deinde cinis de milite factus.
- 960 Si quaeris quae sim, cinis et tosta favilla.

Similar expressions are found in Inscriptions 963, 965, 977, 1032, 1054, 1144, 1145, 1158, 1205, and 1222.

Or again that there was nothing beyond the tomb.¹

- 424 Salve care mihi coniunx, dilecta propago
condite perpetuis tumulis sine lucis hiatu.
- 481 Hic iacet aeterno devinctus membra sopore.
- 1582 Nunc levis adque meo iaceo tumulo, neque sentio quicquam.

Also 434, 516, and 1263.

As we have considered the thought that the condition after death was similar to that before birth in connection with the consolation for death it will only be necessary to give an enumeration of the compositions in which this idea is found. See 214, 799, 800, 935, 1095, 1489, 1495, 1496, 1559, and 1585.²

The statement that death took all is sometimes made.

- 1160 Cognomen pater huic fuerat natale daturus:
abstulit atra dies una cum corpore nomen.
- 1170 Fortuna invisita est, spes est frustrata parentes,
mors cuncta eripuit, dira quies hominum.

INCONSISTENCY OF EXPRESSION REGARDING LIFE AFTER DEATH

We find that in a number of instances a composition will contain two or more ideas regarding the condition of the deceased which do not harmonize. In the same inscription the writer will state in one place that the deceased is in the sky and in another part we find that he is thought to be in Tartarus or Elysium, or one part will inform the reader that there is no life after

¹ It is often difficult to decide whether the writer of the composition thought that the spirit remained in the tomb, as we have previously discussed in this chapter, or whether the tomb ended all.

² Cf. chap. iv, p. 90.

death, and in another he will be told whither the deceased has gone. This incongruity of expression is a further proof of the statement made previously in this dissertation that many of the inscriptions are made by putting together various ideas without any particular attention to their harmony. It is also evident that in many cases one or more of the expressions regarding the destination are used only for poetical effect.

The following inscriptions give the best examples of inconsistency of expression.

In 420, l. 5, all things perish with life:

Omnia cum vita pereunt et inania fiunt.

While in l. 22 the husband and wife expect to be united in eternity:

Expectans mihi quo felix societur in aeuom.

No. 422, l. 1, contains a reference to the deceased being in the tomb; l. 2, a reference to the kingdom of Proserpine.

*Hoc ego sum tumulo Marcianus redditus aevo,
non dum Persephones sperabam visere regna.*

In 428, l. 2, he is in the seats of dark earth; l. 12, in waters of Acheron; and l. 14 contains an expression of doubt regarding the existence of the Manes.

- 2 *Raptus in his iaceo telluris sedibus atrae.*
- 12 *Hic meus ut frater Stabiano litore mecum
conditur, in tenebris Acherontis labitur undis.*
- 14 *Dicere, si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes
Antoni et Proculi molliter ossa cubent.*

In 432 the deceased is spoken of in the same inscription as most miserable and as inhabiting Elysium and the meadows of the blessed.

*Sprevisti patrem matremque, misserime nate,
Elysios campos habitans et prata beatum.*

In 434 he has gone to Acheron and Tartarus as well as remaining in the grave which is the eternal home.

- Ll. 11 f. *Nunc vero infernas sedes Acherontis ad undas
tetraque Tartarei per sidera tendo profundum.
effugi tumidam vitam. Spes forma valete;
nil mihi vobiscum est, alios deludite quaeso.
haec domus aeterna est, hic sum situs, hic ero semper.*

In No. 442 he is in tomb and with Dis:

- 1 *Hic iacet exanimis tumulis Aelia Sabina.*
- 4 *Quem tenuit genetrix secum tenet in lare Ditis.*

In 544, above the sky and in Stygian regions:

*Ac tribus est data nunc requies et in aethere sedes
cuncta super caeli: mihi soli cura relicta est*

vitaque cum genitu fletuque misserima somno
in cura fraudata, diu sitiens Stygis undas.

In 545 the deceased is submerged in eternal night; in aether; lives in reputation; and then occurs expression of doubt whether the departed know the affairs on earth.

- 2 Te mihi, Glycerium, fors abstulit funere duro,
mersit in aeternam extincto corpore noctem.
sit tamen aetheria vivae post funera sede
fama viges, magno semper laudata pudore.
et si nostra tuos tangunt suspiria sensus,
vivis in Eutropii iuncto tibi pectore, vivis.

In 960, while there is nothing but ashes, he has gone to Dis and Stygian regions.

- 3 Si quaeris quae sim, cinis en et tosta favilla.
- 7 Nunc data sum Diti longum mansura per aeuum
deducta et fatali igne et aqua Stygia.

In 995A. 4 he is in sepulcher; in B. 17, in Stygian regions.

- A. 4 Hoc Homonoea brevi condita sum tumulo.

B. 17, husband addresses wife.

At nunc quod possum, fugiam lucemque deosque
ut te matura per Stygia morte sequar.

In 1005 he is both in tomb and in Stygian regions.

- 2 Aeternum patriae hic erit ipsa domus,
hic erit inclusus tumulo, hic Iulius ipse,
hic cinis et caro corpore factus erit.
- 9 Hic ego nunc cogor Stygias transire paludes,
sedibus aeternis me mea fata tenent.

In 1223 he is spoken of as having been taken to eternal citadels; and yet there are references to the Stygian regions, requests to parents to call on the deceased; and expression of the desire that the Manes be propitious. It is very probable that the true idea is that the spirit of the deceased is in the tomb and the other expressions are only for poetical effect.

- 1 Hic nunc aeternas situs sum qui raptus in arces.
- 6 Omnes aequae rapit Ditis acerba manus,
et vos per Stygias portabit portitor undas.
- 10 Sique voles semper dulci me voce vocare
ad superos iterum vibam te sospite semper.
nec te nunc, genetrix, tristis sic fata lacesse,
sed potius optes mihi quetos optima Manes
spargas adque mero tumulum mihi in aevo.

The following are also of interest. On account of their similarity to the foregoing examples it will not be necessary to give them in full.

